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East Jerusalem Shuts Down to Protest Hospital Closure

All shops in Arab East Jerusalem were closed July 24 to protest the planned closure of the Hospice government hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem, scheduled for July 31. The Israeli Health Minister ordered the hospital closed down on the pretext that health standards at the Hospice are low and the economic situation requires major cutbacks. Hospice is the only hospital that serves the Old City's 150,000 Arab residents, as well as many disadvantaged residents from neighbouring areas.

The Hospice Friends Committee and other Palestinian institutions called the general strike during a press conference held at the hospital building on July 23 to protest the closure decision. The press conference was sponsored by many Palestinian public institutions in addition to the Hospice Friends Committee. Israeli soldiers and police surrounded the hospital compound during the conference to quell any possible protest activity by the many residents who have been actively protesting the closure order since it was issued July 7.

The day before the conference, a massive sit-in strike was held outside the hospital after the surgery unit was closed down.

Many Palestinian, Israeli and foreign journalists attended the conference. Speakers included: Isma'il Tazziz, head of the West Bank Pharmacists Union and a member of the Hospice Friends Committee, MK Tawfiq Toubi (DFPE), Dr Ahmad Muhtadi, director of the Hospice, and Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din Alami, head of the Higher Islamic Committee. All vehemently objected to the closure.

Representatives of Palestinian national institutions argued during the press conference that the closure is a political decision through which Israel

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High Court Blocks Deportation of Ex-Prisoner

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* July 19 blocking the deportation of ex-prisoner Khaled Mohammed Tantash until the court hears his case. Tantash was released in the May 20 prisoner-exchange between the PFLP-GC and Israel.

Last week Tantash was notified, through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), of the Israelis' intention to deport him on the pretext that he does not have an Israeli identity card.

The ex-prisoner sought the order *nisi* after the ICRC asked Tantash to select his preferred destination. "I told them I would like to stay here," Tantash told *Al Fajr*.

Tantash said he was counted in the 1967 Israeli census after the occupation of the West Bank. He left the country before obtaining an Israeli ID card. In 1969 he returned secretly to the area, but he was caught near Naharya and charged with armed infiltration. He was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Tantash said the Israelis have been refusing to allow his lawyer, Ibrahim Abu Ata, access to the census record to find evidence supporting his case.

Tantash and Ahmad Tahboub, another ex-prisoner from Jerusalem who was released in the May exchange, were both issued 21-day town arrest orders July 21 for the fourth consecutive time. According to the order, they cannot leave Jerusalem without official permission and they must stay inside their homes between 7:00 pm and 7:00 am. Tantash was also forbidden to change his address without permission and ordered to report to the Moscobiyeh police headquarters twice a day.

The orders were signed by the Israeli commander of the Central District, Amnon Shahak.

Speaking on Israel Radio July 24, Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin disclosed his intention "to find measures to counteract terrorism." He noted that the cabinet will weigh the possibility of reinstating speedy deportations and administrative detentions discontinued by the Likud government in 1979. Rabin will also consider instituting capital punishment for 'terrorists,' *The Jerusalem Post* reported.

Kiryat Arba Council Forms Coalition with Kach; Prepares to Dismiss Arab Workers

After receiving 22 percent of the vote in the Kiryat Arba local council elections held at the beginning of the month, the Kach faction signed a coalition agreement with the Wach-Ha'etzni faction which, among other things, calls for dismissing the Arab workers at Kiryat Arba and hiring Jews in their place. The head of the Kach list, Rami Zit, will become deputy chairperson of the town council and Kach will also be represented on the Regional Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Israeli government reacted to the coalition agreement with dismay. However, it is unclear at this point whether it will take steps to disband the coalition or make do with a few words of censure. Both the government and the Civil Administration in the West Bank have the power to take practical steps to bar Kach members from holding official positions, but thus far the government has been using gentle persuasion in order to forge a new coalition that would exclude Kach members. Throughout the past week, Housing Minister David Levy (Likud) tried to negotiate such an agreement but was unsuccessful.

The Peace Now movement sent a telegramme to Prime Minister Shimon Peres calling on him to take sanctions "against the racist Kiryat Arba council and publicly state that he regrets the part played by the Labour Party in establishing Kiryat Arba" which they term "a municipality of terror and apartheid."

Kiryat Arba was the first Jewish settlement established in the part of the West Bank the Israelis call "Judea" and it is one of the largest. Located in Hebron, Kiryat Arba has a long history of harassing local Palestinian residents. Given the leading role Kiryat Arba has assumed among

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Israeli Navy Blasts Lebanese Coast

The Israeli navy stepped up activity off the Lebanese coast last week, intercepting and shelling boats, setting a freighter ablaze, and hammering away at the Lebanese coast from the sea. The army also conducted a search in the village of Kabrina, outside the 'Security Zone.'

A freighter, *The Roule*, was damaged July 23 when Israeli navy ships opened fire at the ship in Lebanese waters of the coast of Sidon. An Israeli gunboat approached the freighter travelling 400 metres off the Lebanese coast. The freighter was set ablaze after half an hour of shelling from the Israeli gunboat. The crew of eleven jumped overboard and were picked up by rescue boats. Two Pakistani crew members were slightly wounded and taken to hospital. The blaze on the ship could not be put out.

The freighter's Greek captain, Michael Changriss, told the Associated Press that his ship was bringing cement from Rumania for a Lebanese merchant. He said that he was stopped by an Israeli navy ship the previous day, July 22. He added, "The same boat intercepted me while I was trying to sail into Sidon this morning." When Changriss attempted to enter the Sidon harbour that afternoon, the Israeli vessel started shelling his ship.

An Israeli military spokesperson said that the Israeli navy spotted the freighter engaged in "suspicious activity." The spokesperson did not elaborate on the nature of the suspicious activity.

The Lebanese Radio station 'Voice of the Nation' reported on the morning of July 24 that Israeli ships shelled four boats belonging to Lebanese fishermen in the Sarafand area in south Lebanon.

On July 23, eight Israeli ships bombarded the coastal road from the Awali River to the Kharoub region.

According to Israeli sources, an Israeli gunboat wounded two Muslim fighters July 20 when it opened fire on a checkpoint manned by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) north of Sidon. The sources added the boat had fired at a PLA position on the Awali River bridge for 10 minutes.

News services in Beirut reported July 21 that Israeli troops were flown in by helicopter and landed in the village of Kabrina for a search operation, in which three people were killed. By contrast, Israeli military sources reported that only one Lebanese fighter was killed. The military spokesperson claimed that the village was used as a base for operations against the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army (SLA).

Red Cross personnel aiding victims of Israeli shelling./AFP photo.

Shaul Nir and family after being sentenced to life imprisonment for killing three students at the Hebron University./Baher Ashhab photo.

In Trial of Jewish Terrorists

Prosecution Upset By Light Sentences

Fifteen members of the Gush Emunaim Jewish underground, who were convicted in early July on a number of criminal offences including premeditated murder, manslaughter, conspiring to commit criminal acts, and membership in a terrorist organisation, were sentenced in the Jerusalem District Court July 22.

Citing the "impressive" military records of the terrorists and claiming that they now regretted their crimes, Judges Bazak, Finkelman and Cohen sentenced Menahem Livni, Shaul Nir, and Uzi Sharbaf — all of whom took part in the Islamic Academy slayings — to life in prison (the mandatory sentence for premeditated murder). Three Palestinian students were killed and scores injured in the attack.

Yehuda Etzion and Yitzhak Ganiram were both sentenced to seven years in prison and three years suspended for manslaughter and conspiracy; and Barak Nir received a six year sentence for manslaughter and membership in a terrorist organisation. The other members of the underground, convicted of lesser offences, received the following punishments: Yehoshua Ben Shoshan, four-and-a-half years in prison; Ben Zion Heniman, Hayim Ben David, and Yakov Heniman, between 40-45 months; and Boaz Heniman, Haggai Segel, Natan Natanson and Yitzhak Novick, three years in prison. Moshe Zar, sentenced to four months in prison, was released after the court decided to count his pre-trial detention as part of his term.

The prosecution is considering appealing the sentences, which it believes were excessively light, to the Israeli High Court.

The terrorists did not appear displeased with the sentences they received. Immediately after the judges left the chamber and a mob of journalists and television crews rushed in, they held their first post-trial press conference. MKs Geula Cohen and Haim Druckman were on hand to help launch the campaign for a presidential pardon for the terrorists, as were many settler leaders.

Speaking to journalists after the trial, underground leader Menahem Livni declared: "There was neither an underground nor a terrorist organisation. I was responsible for the security of the Jewish settlement in Hebron and the actions I am accused of were carried out in my capacity as security supervisor."

Yehoshua Ben Shoshan: "I served in the army and I saw the army executing the same type of actions that I participated in."

Yehuda Etzion: "The verdict of history will be entirely different. The Temple Mount must be purified and then the picture will look totally different." They did not express any regret for their crimes.

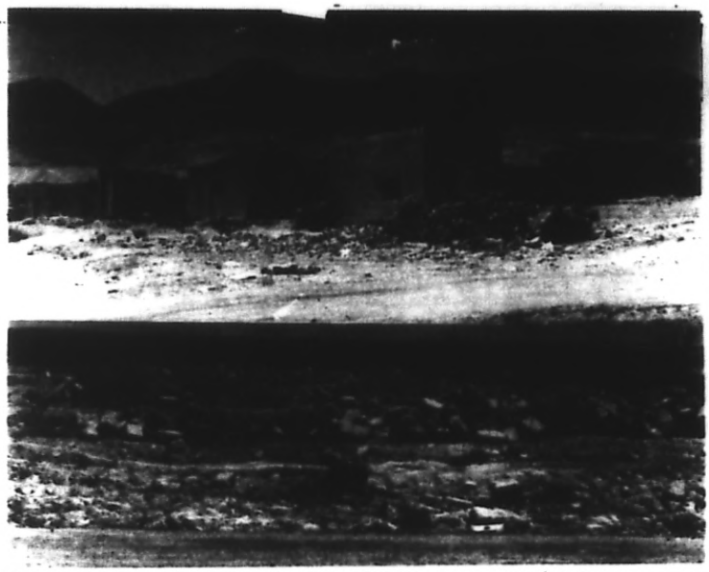
The elected and deposed mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a, who was maimed by a car bomb the Jewish terrorists planted in 1980, said that the Israeli *Mossad* was behind the attacks against the three mayors, all of whom were active members of the now defunct National Guidance Committee. In the July 24 issue of *Al Sha'ab* Arabic daily, Shaka'a was quoted as saying that he has evidence to support his claim. He added that the motive behind these crimes was to strengthen Israeli settlement in the occupied territories and to eliminate the National Guidance Committee. "As long as Israel continues with its settlement policy, settlers will continue to carry out such crimes," he said.

The underground's Knesset lobby has begun to apply pressure on Justice Minister Moshe Nissim to recommend that the terrorists be pardoned, but so far the lobby appears to be trying to maintain a low-key approach to avoid the backlash precipitated by its late May offensive.

The terrorists, who up to now have enjoyed special benefits (including trips to the seaside and picnics with their families), will continue to be treated with kid-gloves. According to the Prison Authority, they will all be housed together in a special wing of the Tel-Mond prison rather than being dispersed to various lock-ups throughout the country. Tel-Mond is a low security prison where standards are relatively luxurious compared to other Israeli lock-ups.

There has been a good deal of speculation among Israeli journalists on the question of whether the terrorists will be pardoned and when. Most seem to agree that it is only a matter of time before President Haim Herzog begins to review each case individually and hand out staggered pardons.

During their 14-month trial, the terrorists became political celebrities. It seems unlikely that they will now sink into obscurity; and it seems even more unlikely that they will serve their full prison terms.



Nu'eimeh Refugee Camp. TOP: before demolition, BOTTOM: after demolition./AO photo.

Army Razes Deserted Refugee Camp

The Israelis razed the deserted Nu'eimeh refugee camp north of Jericho July 19 on the pretext that the deteriorating condition of the houses was endangering neighbouring residents. Palestinians say the measure aimed at eliminating a painful reminder of the victims of Israel's establishment in 1948, and occupation of the West Bank in 1967.

The camp, which consisted of mud-brick houses with straw roofs, was deserted in 1967 when most of its 6,000 inhabitants fled across the river to Jordan when Israel conquered the West Bank. Those who remained were forced to move to other camps in the Jericho area after the Israelis declared the Nu'eimeh site all the way to the Jordan river a 'closed military area.'

The camp was first erected by UNRWA in 1949 for refugees from the Lydda, Jerusalem and Hebron areas on land allocated for that purpose by the Jordanian government. In 1951 the refugees aided by UNRWA, replaced their tents with mud-brick houses. The UN agency then contributed beams and straw to help refugees roof their homes.

Officials at UNRWA's field office in Jerusalem told *Al Fajr* that the camp was levelled in accordance with a prior arrangement between Israel and UNRWA, whereby the Israelis vowed to keep the camp's land at the UN Agency's disposal.

UNRWA officials said that arrangements for demolishing the camp houses were made in Vienna between Israel's representative to the UN in Vienna and UNRWA's Commission General Olof Rydbeck. The Israeli diplomat, Michael Elizur, notified Rydbeck July 10 of his government's intention to demolish the camp homes because "they pose a danger to the health of people in the area." In his letter Elizur assured Rydbeck that the entire operation would not cost UNRWA anything, and that it would be done with minimum inconvenience to all concerned. He also pledged to restore the camp land to UNRWA to use it in the manner the agency sees fit.

Rydbeck wrote back on July 12 approving the measure and affirming UNRWA's desire to keep the camp land at its disposal. UNRWA also requested the Israelis not to demolish the handful of concrete buildings that were built to provide public services such as the schools, the supplementary feeding centre, Mosque, and camp services office. The agency also retained its caretaker to supervise the remaining buildings.

One member of the locally established Committee to Defend Palestinian Camps described the destruction as "an attempt to wipe out all traces of the Palestinian plight." The sight of the deserted camp, which is located near the tourist site of Hisham's palace, apparently irritated the Israelis, he said.

Doubting the Israelis' professed concern for the safety of Palestinian residents, one UNRWA employee asked, "Why would the Israelis spend the money to destroy an abandoned refugee camp?"

After 3 Year Court Battle
Arab House in Gilo Flattened

An Israeli bulldozer under armed police guard demolished two concrete buildings belonging to a Palestinian resident of Sharfat village, southwest of Jerusalem July 21 in accordance with a two-year-old court eviction order. Nearly a dozen other Arab houses in the same area have been destroyed in recent years to expand the sprawling, fortress-like Gilo settlement, which was built on confiscated Arab land after 1970, following the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank.

Ata Khalil Hussein, 65, his two children, mother and wife watched the Israeli bulldozer topple their home of 30 years.

During the past few years, the Israelis have been exerting a great deal of pressure on the Hussein family to evacuate their home. The Israelis reportedly offered the family a large sum of money to evict their house. When they refused, the Israelis turned to the court to facilitate the eviction. The eviction order was issued in 1983, after Hussein built a second building on his land plot without a licence.

Jewish residents of the Gilo settlement, apparently eager to get rid of their Arab neighbour, have repeatedly accused the Hussein family of bothering them. This charge was refused by the Arab family, who said that Jewish youngsters had harassed them and thrown stones at them.

Al Fajr Journalist Gets Fourth Town Arrest

Israeli military authorities renewed the town arrest order on journalist Mousa Jaradat for the fourth consecutive time July 21. Jaradat, 35, who heads the features section in *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, was ordered not to leave his home village of Sa'ir in the Hebron area for six months.

Jaradat, who has two children, had resumed his work at *Al Fajr* June 19 when the previous town arrest order was not renewed. He worked for one month.

Jaradat was summoned to the Israeli military headquarters in Hebron July 20 when he was handed the order. As usual, the order forbids Jaradat to leave the borders of his home village without official permission from the Israeli commander of the Central Region Amnon Shahak, the issuing officer. Jaradat was also required to sign his name once a week at the Hebron police station.

Other journalists under town arrest include Nabhan Khreisheh from Zanabeh in the Tulkarm area, who has been confined to his home village since 1982, and Hamdi Farraj, from Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem, who has been in detention since February. Farraj's trial is scheduled for next month.

Bassam Abu Rmaileh, member of the administrative committee of the Arab Journalists Association (AJA), told *Al Fajr* that the AJA has hired a lawyer to appeal Jaradat and Khreisheh's town arrest orders before the Israeli Military Objections Committee.

Radwan Abu Ayash, head of the AJA, condemned the town arrest order against Jaradat and said it hinders his work as a journalist. Abu Ayash added that the AJA is preparing a booklet on town arrests against journalists.

Mousa Jaradat

At least eight other journalists have been placed under town arrest or movement restrictions in the past five years. These include: Akram Haniyeh, editor of *Al Sha'ab* Arabic daily; Ma'moun al-Sayed, former editor of *Al Fajr* Arabic daily; and Bashir al-Barghouthi, editor of *Al Talia* weekly. The three were placed under town arrest between August 1980 and February 1983. Their town arrest orders were lifted only after wide campaigns of condemnation from international and Israeli human rights activists.

Talal Abu Afifeh, an editor at *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, has been barred from entering the West Bank, excluding his residence of Jerusalem, since January 1984. The restriction was imposed three months after his release from prison in 1983.

Radwan Abu Ayash, editorial secretary of *Al Awdeh* magazine and head of the AJA, also served a six-month town arrest last fall. Hanna Siniora, responsible editor of *Al Fajr* and Awad Abdel Fattah, reporter for *Al Fajr* English weekly, were both restricted — Siniora from going to Israel, and Abdel Fattah from going to the West Bank.

Mohammed Amireh, *Al Quds* Arabic daily correspondent in Nablus, also spent one year under town arrest.

150 Muslims Under 35 Forbidden to Make Haj

Many would-be Muslim pilgrims were unable to make the *haj* to Mecca, Saudi Arabia this year due to new restrictions set by the Israeli Interior Ministry last January. The overall number of applications rose to 3166, 10 percent higher than last year. Muslims under the age of 35, apparently considered 'security risks,' were not allowed to make the pilgrimage.

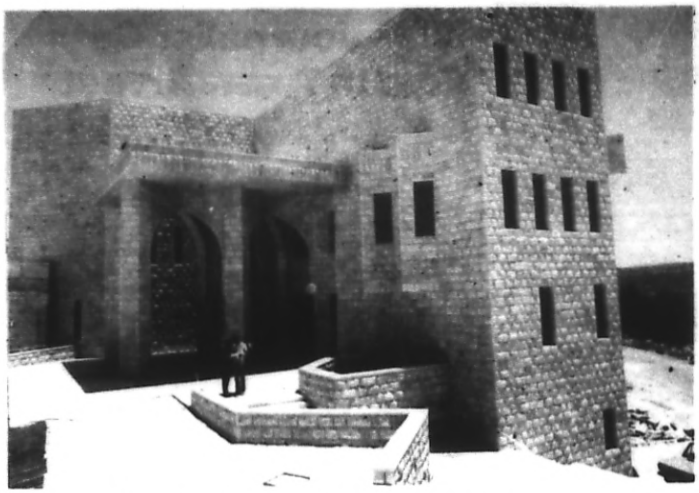
One hundred and fifty applications under 35 were denied *haj* travel permits this year. Twenty-two applications were turned down for 'security reasons.'

Of the Palestinians under 35 whose applications were turned down, 16 filed appeals with the Israeli High Court. Nine of those refused permits for security reasons also appealed against the Interior Ministry's decision.

The Israeli High Court listened to one such appeal July 22 but took no decision pending further discussion. The High Court has never issued a decision which overturned policy laid down by the Interior Ministry.

The Interior Ministry was reportedly more efficient in processing *haj* applications this year, issuing quick responses. In past years the ministry used to respond to applications only after the pilgrimage had ended, which meant applicants lost the pilgrimage fees they had paid in advance.

In 1978, Saudi Arabia agreed to permit Palestinians living in Israel to perform the pilgrimage. This decision was made in coordination with Jordanian authorities who also agreed to consider the Muslims from Israel as part of the Jordanian delegation.



Exterior view of the new Yusuf al-Ghanem Library at Bir Zeit University./BZU.

Yusef al-Ghanem Library Inaugurated at BZU

More than 150 guests took part in the inauguration of the new Yusef al-Ghanem Library at Bir Zeit University July 18. The library is the largest and most modern in the occupied territories, with a capacity to hold 150,000 volumes in addition to many periodicals. It was named after a Kuwaiti millionaire whose sons donated more than US$1 million to cover the library's construction costs.

The ceremony started at 5:00 pm with a welcoming speech from Mohammed Sa'di al-Faqih, head of the University's Board of Trustees. Faqih pointed out the university's achievements and progress during recent years. "We have recently opened the Omar al-Aq'qad Engineering building, which now trains new engineers who will contribute to the development of our Palestinian society," he told the crowd. He also conveyed special thanks to Quteibeh and Basam al-Ghanem, the sons of Yusef al-Ghanem, for their generous contributions.

Faqih then introduced Linda Nasser, mother of the exiled university president, Dr Hanna Nasser, who now lives in Amman, to cut the ribbon and mark the official opening of the library.

Inside the four-storey library building Dr Gabi Baramki, university vice-president, told the guests that with the opening of the library, the first stage of construction on the new campus had been completed. The first stage includes, in addition to the library, the Engineering college, the Science college building, the administration offices, the cafeteria building, and the Kamal Nasser meeting hall. Baramki also stressed the importance of the library to the academic standards at Bir Zeit.

The guests then toured all sections of the library.

The four-storey building now contains more than 85,000 books with a total capacity of 150,000. The library also subscribes to 670 periodicals. In 1980 UNESCO designated Bir Zeit's previous library as a recipient and deposit centre for all of its publications. The new library has inherited the growing UNESCO collection. The building can provide 500 students with space to read and do research.

The library is distinguished by modern faculty carrels and audiovisual and microform sections. Aida Haddad, the Head Librarian, said the library is unique because of its varied facilities, including reference, study and research sections, as well as a rare books room. The elegantly furnished library also contains special conference halls, exhibit rooms, and periodicals room (see box). The catalogue system is the same as that used by the US Library of Congress. Haddad told *Al Fajr* the new library services will be computerised. Haddad said while the library is primarily intended to serve Bir Zeit faculty and students, it might be opened to the general community at a later stage.

Ground Floor
Science and Engineering
Audiovisual Room
Microforms
Acquisitions office

Main Entrance Floor
Reference Room
Current Periodicals
Circulation Desk
Technical Services

Mezzanine
Head Librarian's Office
Rare Books and Documents
Arabic Cataloguing
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Top Floor
Humanities
Social Sciences
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Faculty Carrels (12)

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UPA is a non-political, independent, American-based, tax-exempt charitable organization established since 1980 to extend humanitarian relief to the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the diaspora.

The PHRC delegation outside the Bir Zeit University campus

PHRC Delegation Tours Area

An extensive research and fact-finding tour of Palestinian universities, institutions, refugee camps, and municipalities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was recently sponsored by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign – national office (based in Chicago, Illinois). The delegation was comprised of 15 Americans; 11 academicians from US universities, 2 clergymen, and 2 PHRC national and local staff members. The tour was organised and led by Albert Aghazarian.

The major purpose of the acadamic freedom seminar tour was to develop a broader understanding of academic life and conditions (retrictions) under Israeli military occupation, thus exploring ways and means of ameliorating the socio-economic and political conditions and realities of academic freedom in addition to establishing relations with universities in the US, ie, joint research projects and scholarly exchange.

The group heard from and questioned officials from Bir Zeit, an Najah, Bethlehem Gaza Islamic College, Hebron Polytechnic, Ramallah Boys School, and Prophet Elias High School in Ibilin.

Various viewpoints on the economic, social, and political atmosphere and municipality restrictions were expressed by mayors Elias Freij of Bethlehem, Tawfiq Zayyad of Nazareth, acting mayor Mustafa Natshe of Hebron, and elected mayor Bassam Shaka'a of Nablus. Further discussions with Samiha Khalil, president of *In'ash al-Usra* (Family Rehabilitation) Society and Yusra Barbari, head of the Gaza Women's Union exemplified the harsh and restrictive realities of life under Israeli military occupation. In a strong appeal, Khalil stated: "I do not want my people to be beggars anymore."

The delegation also had the opportunity to visit different families from Dheisheh and Jabalya refugee camps and to tour Israeli settlements around East Jerusalem and Hebron.

In Tel Aviv, the PHRC delegation met with members of the Israeli Knesset and various leaders of the Israeli progressive peace movements (Peace Now, Neve Shalom, East for Peace and editors from the Israeli magazine *New Outlook*.) In Haifa the delegation also met with the mayor of Haifa and members from the Progressive List For Peace.

The tour ended back in Jerusalem with a reception hosted by PHRC tour leaders Dr Robert Ashmore and Dr Cheryl Rubenberg. They expressed the collective gratitude of the group to all those who contributed to a clearer perspective of the challenges and realities facing Palestinian academic institutions in the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel.

The group intends to publicise their findings to the US academic community, American officials, and the general American public.

Soldiers Raid Farraj's Dheisheh Home

Israeli soldiers broke into several homes in Dheisheh refugee camp in the Bethlehem district around midnight on July 23. The soldiers fired in the air and shot flares in the sky.

More than 30 soldiers broke into the Dheisheh home of journalist Hamdi Farraj, who has been held in detention since February 1 on charges of incitement and inflicting damage to several homes in the camp. His trial, which has been postponed three times, is now scheduled for August 14.

The soldiers struck Farraj's 13-year-old brother, Issam, several times. They rampaged the house, destroyed furniture, and confiscated posters, photos and cassettes. Farraj's ageing mother, 75, told *Al Fajr* the soldiers remained in the house for three hours.

Journalist Jawdat Mana', also a Dheisheh resident, told *Al Fajr* that the harassment is part of an escalating campaign on the part of the authorities which began a few months ago. More than 90 Dheisheh residents have been detained since February 1, Mana' said. Many were released after 18 days without charges.

The Dawn
AL FAJR

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The Ultimate Outcome

The new coalition agreement in Kiryat Arba's local council, dictated by two Kach members to the council, has ominous overtones. Its terms: the council will fire all Arab employees at Kiryat Arba, block any Jewish-Arab ventures, bar Arab vehicles and Arabs from entering Kiryat Arba "without reason," and forbid Arab vendors to sell at the settlement.

The terms have sent shockwaves throughout Israel Israeli government officials are reviewing ways to ban Kach from entering the coalition. In Hebron, as in Lebanon only a short while ago, the Israelis are startled after the fact and ask, "What has happened to us?" But anyone who is in touch with reality in the West Bank will not find the terms shocking or surprising. The Israelis are now facing the inevitable results of their own policies.

Most Israelis have never questioned the settlement policy in the occupied territories and its ramifications. Labour party ideologues conceive of the settlements as some kind of 'buffer Zone' in the Jordan Valley and in the Etzion Bloc in accordance with the Allon plan. This plan cuts up the West Bank in a crazy patchwork quilt, giving Israel all "unpopulated' areas and, in the process, isolating each Arab population centre from its neighbours. Likudniks go much further; in their minds, the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip are open territory for Jewish settlement. The only future planning in their minds was that, *de facto*, such concrete sites would become *status quo*, just like Israel itself became *status quo* after the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs. *'Fait accompli.'*

Neither group gave any thought to the long-term impact of controlling 1.5 million Palestinians against their will and against international law.

And so, once again, the Israelis ignored the root of the problem: the need for Palestinian independence and self-determination; the need to end this ugly military occupation.

The settlers' goal is to obstruct Palestinian independence as much as it is to fulfil a messianic mission. This is why they constantly harass the Palestinian population with threats, raids, vigilantism, and even murder.

Kahane is the only one ready to tell the truth and come to grips with the ultimate implications of Zionism.

The issue, therefore, is not whether Kahane's supporters will dictate the terms of the coalition agreement in Kiryat Arba. The real issue is whether the Kiryat Arab settlement should be allowed to remain or not.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Israel's 'Long Arm'

by Ghassan Bishara

Back in 1978 Israel became Guatemala's chief arms supplier and since then, according to the July issue of *Mother Jones* magazine, half of the 45,000 Guatemalan Indians killed there by military dictatorships met their deaths from Israeli-supplied Uzi and Galili submachine guns.

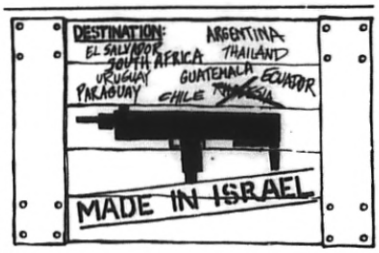
Israel's role as a merchant of arms is not limited to selling Uzi and Galili rifles to a few of the worst violators of human rights in the world; Israel also makes available other Israeli weapons to the same governments. Transferring American weapons sold to Israel, or weapons manufactured in Israel with American parts to a third party, however, requires permission from the US. In a few cases, such as Guatemala, Nicaragua before the Sandinista Revolution, and Iran before the overthrow of the Shah, Israel continued to supply these countries with weapons even after the US Congress and then the Carter Administration had decided to stop doing so, due to these countries' human rights records. Israel, some of these countries' leaders boast, is also training their troops – the real secret, they argue, for their success against their political oppositon, including the Guatemalan Indians.

The *Mother Jones* article reveals that in Guatemala, Israeli soldiers and military advisers disguised as agricultural aides helped to devise "the beans and rifles counterinsurgency strategy [which] included the formation of Vietnam-style strategic hamlets called model villages; the systematic scorching of Indian homes and fields; and the subjugation of hundreds of thousands of highland Indians" into what became known as "civil defence patrols." Victor Perera, the author, himself a Guatemalan Jew, writes that during his travels in Guatemala in 1983, he observed that the Guatemalan special forces were outfitted exactly like a typical Israeli army unit, up to their helmets and field kitchens.

Since almost all of the African states severed relations with Israel after the 1973 war, Perera argues, Israeli foreign policy has come to view the "Third World primarily in terms of exploitable resources." Although assistance from the US continued to pour into Israel during the 1973 war, a new mode of self-reliance was developed that entailed manufacturing and selling weapons. Following the 1973 break with Africa, the only remaining client for these Israeli weapons turned out to be Latin America. "Since the mid-1970s", Perera writes, "about 50 to 60 percent of all Israeli arms exports have gone to 18 Latin American nations."

Within Latin America, Israel chose the "stable dictatorships," as Perera calls them, such as Haiti, Paraguay and the Central American republics of Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica. This choice was made, the *Mother Jones* article asserts, mainly because the PLO had already established firm ties with more independent and left-leaning Central and Latin American countries. In many instances, Israel acts as a surrogate for the US government, selling arms to countries or groups the US would like to supply with arms but cannot. Perera quotes Ya'acov Meridor, former Israeli Finance minister, assuring the US "... Don't compete with us in Taiwan; don't compete with us in South Africa; don't compete with us in the Caribbean or in other places where you cannot sell arms directly. Let us do it. ...Israel will be your intermediary."

Israel's offer to act as intermediary for the US on arms sales to countries the US Congress has termed off-limits was put to use when Israel supplied the Contras in Nicaragua with weapons it claims it captured from the PLO in Lebanon. The US Congress refused to go along with the Administration's request to supply the Contras in Nicaragua with US$14 million worth of weapons, and voted instead to provide US$80 million in "humanitarian" aid. Israel has sold arms to Chile and Iran, among others, for the same reasons. Most surprising to the author of the article is that "Israel has not balked at selling arms to regimes with proven records of anti-Semitism, most notably Argentina, where arms were provided to generals who jailed and tortured publisher Jacobo Timmerman in front of a portrait of Adolf Hitler."



Israel's annual income for the past three years from arms sales to about 50 countries, according to the article, averaged US$1 billion. The arms industry in Israel, Perera continues, employs "one quarter of all Israeli industrial labour" and arms sales there "accounted for 16 percent of Israel's total foreign revenue – the highest rate of any arms-exporting nation." Knesset member Yossi Sarid is quoted as deploring Israel's abandonment of the "green route of agriculture for the red and bloody route of arms." Yet to the average Israeli, the country is in dire need of foreign currency and the arms industry is a good way of filling empty government coffers.

The likelihood that a conflict might arise between Israel's friends in the US and its arms sale policy to world dictatorships is on the minds of many Israelis and Americans. In the US Congress and among the American public, many of those who oppose arms sales to such dicatorships are also Israel's staunchest allies. Somehow, however, no conflict of this sort has yet arisen, one of the many ironies of the complex Israeli-American relationship. Americans who oppose arms sales to the Nicaraquan Contras, for example, still support Israel regardless of its arms supply to the same group.

Israel's arms sale policy has been harshly criticised across the board, due to the oppressive nature of those regimes who receive weapons. The harshest criticism has come from within Israel itself. Yoav Karney, a former *Yediot Aharonot* correspondent, is quoted by Perera as deploring Israel's Defence Ministry for "...embracing apartheid in broad daylight." Another of Israel's best known writers, Amos Kenan, also strongly criticised Israel's "moral stand" in the world. "The disaster in Lebanon," he said, "has sealed its [Israel's] doom, and the last gaps are in Central America and South Africa, where it is dumping not only its obsolete weapons but outmoded strategies of colonisation that failed on the West Bank – much as the US dumps its outmoded and outlawed pharmaceuticals and pesticides in the Third World." Israel, Kenan suggests, will either go the "Khomeini route" and become a fundamentalist state or an "ultra-nationalist military" route, ala Sharon or Rafael Eitan. Or maybe, he says, a sound future will be forged by a coalition of peace-oriented labourites and other doves.

Only time will tell. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Two Views on Dialogue with the US

The PLO Exists for the People, Not for Itself

by Sari Nuseibeh

As a superpower which is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and which has not yet recognised the PLO, the United States is a natural and necessary target for Palestinian dialogue. Even as a caretaker of Israeli interests in international affairs, the US must be addressed as a party that is necessarily involved in the Middle East conflict.

While if one thinks in absolute terms one cannot but support any form of dialogue between a liberation movement and a superpower, in realistic terms one's support for such a dialogue cannot but be subject to specific considerations. In particular, if initiating a dialogue with one superpower or party means risking the deterioration of relations with another superpower or party (such as the Soviet Union abroad or Syria in the Arab world), then it is obvious that to decide in favour of proceeding with such a dialogue one must have at one's disposal a specific set of good reasons, or a set of specific gains one hopes to achieve that make the risk worthwhile.

The first specific gain that is indispensable to the Palestinian national movement, and which must result from a dialogue with the US, is the latter's recognition of the official representative of the Palestinian people, of the official embodiment of the Palestinian national movement.

Associated with this gain, secondly, there must be clear assurances that recognition of the PLO as the embodiment of the Palestinian national movement must be followed by acceptance of the PLO as an equal partner to be involved in any negotiations about the Middle East problem, in its capacity as the unique representative of the Palestinian people.

Finally, there must be forthcoming assurances that, while there may be differences of opinion as to the specific outlines of a possible settlement, there is a clear and unambiguous recognition of the Palestinian people's right for self-determination.

One presumes that it is precisely within such modalities that the PLO initiated preliminary inquiries about the possible engagement in a dialogue with the US. On its part, the US must have had its own requirements. Specifically, the US must have required initial assurances concerning the PLO's sincerity in its quest for a political settlement. There may have been differences of opinion about the specific nature of such assurances. In any event, one must assume that preliminary and indirect contacts between the PLO and the US have assured both parties that there is sufficient reason to suppose that a US/PLO dialogue is a definite possibility at this stage.

Of course, there must have been a number of procedural problems to overcome. Among these must have been the official American veto on any contact with the PLO. In this respect, one assumes that the PLO/PNC distinction, if only of procedural value, may have been behind the said admissibility of the inclusion of, say, Khaled al-Hassan in a Palestinian delegation, as opposed to the inadmissibility of Father Iliya Khoury. If the PLO/PNC distinction in this case allows for the inclusion in a Palestinian delegation of an active member of the central committee of an operational PLO faction, but the exclusion of an independent religious dignitary who happens to have become officially associated with the PLO through his appointment as a member of the Executive Committee only of late, then so much the worse for the underlying so-called "Kissinger document." From the Palestinian point of view, so much the better. In any event, any member of the Palestinian delegation must be an appointee of the PLO.

There may be, or may have been, further, procedurally tolerable, though perhaps sensitive requirements: for example, that either Jordan or the US or both have the right of veto on any potential appointee. If this was indeed the case — that while the PLO retains the right to propose, the US and Jordan retain the right to oppose, the appointment of a particular delegate — then one may assume that, within such a formula, all parties compromise on procedural, though none on substantial grounds. In itself, such an understanding would be proof of the PLO's sincerity in wishing to reach a settlement.

Under such conditions, an Israeli government committed to peace has no right to oppose a US-Palestinian dialogue. Indeed, such a government has no right whatsoever to oppose a possible Israeli-Palestinian dialogue which is based on the principle of mutual recognition of the right of national self-determination of all peoples in the area. In itself, such a formula must by definition allow the PLO to play a primary role.

What, one may ask, about the price the PLO itself is willing to pay in terms of internal dissension and schisms? Is it worth the risk? To my mind at least, the answer is clear: a political leadership that refuses to take the lead in matters where political courage and sacrifice are required, and where even a minimum ray of hope for national salvation can be detected, is not worthy of its position. It is far worthier to risk the PLO for the chance of a just political settlement, than to risk the chance of a just political settlement for the PLO. What is more important than the PLO itself is the very national movement which the PLO embodies. It is the national principles. It is the people of flesh and blood. The present PLO leadership recognises this fact. Its recent political steps have proved that it exists for the people, and not for itself. This is the penultimate vindication of Fatah's 20 year-old struggle.

Sari Nuseibeh teaches philosophy at Bir Zeit University and is Editor of the new Arabic daily, al-Mawqif.

PLO Unity Before All Else

by Jawdat Mana'

The announcement that a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation had been formed to hold a dialogue with the American Administration came after a series of Palestinian decisions. These decisions, taken during the 17th PNC session in Amman, were made without the Palestinian consensus which encompasses the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

As a result of these decisions, King Hussein and Yasir Arafat signed the February 11 Amman agreement, which worsened the rift among Palestinian factions. Many of these factions consider the Amman agreement a spearhead aimed at stripping away the nationalism of the Palestinian cause and ending with a shift to the opposing side, a shift that would work against the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

If we look at the developments that followed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its impact on the Palestinian resistance movement, including US opposition to the Lebanese national movement, then the option of dialogue with the Americans proves to have a number of dangerous elements. The Americans are interested in minimalising the PLO's achievements and weakening Palestinian demands to establish their own independent state. I therefore reject this approach for the following:

1. Holding such a dialogue at this particular time is an act of opportunism which takes advantage of Palestinian suffering from the continuing Israeli occupation.

2. The aim of the American diplomatic move is to strengthen the US's political role in the Middle East. This entails the resurrection of the Camp David Accords, especially after the embarrassment that the Lebanese and Palestinian struggle in Lebanon brought upon the Americans. This struggle ended in an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon without Israeli and American goals there being met.

3. This diplomatic manoeuvering may potentially paralyse relations between the Palestinian national movement and friendly countries who have been staunch supporters of the PLO. These countries have been instrumental in granting the PLO international legitimacy and recognition. *Rapprochement* with the US entails a distancing from the other side which means an imbalance in the delicate balance of forces. This balance is of utmost importance due to the absence of military and political power.

4. American pre-conditions for any dialogue or recognition of the PLO's representativeness means that those engaging in the dialogue will have to make a number of concessions before they step foot on the White House lawn. Furthermore, American recognition of the PLO is not equivalent to American recognition of the Palestinians' right to self-determination or any of the Palestinians' other legitimate rights. This is what US officials have stated. They said that such a recognition would mean, in their view, acceptance of an independent Palestinian state which contradicts UN resolution 242, the resolution the Americans consider to be the only basis for any movement towards solving the Palestinian problem.

5. UN resolution 242 and the idea of land for peace were the major points in King Hussein's opening speech at the 17th PNC session in Amman. Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories and outside consider this resolution to be far removed from the roots of the problem because it disregards their right to return to their homes and land.

6. Any decision based on the Amman agreement is invalid because it lessens the sole representation of the PLO and is a reduction of Palestinian rights. The Amman agreement is a basis for begging hostile forces through the mediation of reactionary Arab countries. These Arab regimes have repeatedly attacked the Palestinian people in Jordan and Lebanon and remained silent during the fierce invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

7. Back to Lebanon, which has been turned into a volcano after the climax of the Middle East conflict there in which the US and Israel played a big part. Dialogue with the US at this time gives credibility to US policy in the Middle East. It would imply a blatant disregard for the martyrs' blood and the tremendous Palestinian and Lebanese sacrifices aimed at halting the attack which was fuelled by the American war machine.

The massacres in Sabra and Shatila are still vivid in the memories of all peace-loving people around the world. The destruction of Palestinian camps is also an ugly picture in Palestinian history. This requires that those responsible for these atrocities be tried, not handed the Palestinian cause on a silver platter so it can be cut to pieces by individuals whose hands are already soaked with blood.

In conclusion, the alternative to dialogue with the Americans is to double efforts to hold an internal Palestinian dialogue before anything else. This way Palestinians can emerge from this problem cleanly and face the pressures aimed at liquidating their national cause. Palestinians can thus be united based on the consensus of the 16th PNC session which was welcomed by Palestinian and friendly forces around the world. This unity is sure to confront the attacks from hostile elements and assure the accomplishment of a just peace that we all yearn for. Such unity would also facilitate the strengthening of international forces friendly to the Palestinians who will come in handy when the international conference is held. Otherwise, Palestinian accomplishments will be in jeopardy as they are handed over to the opponents' camp.

Jawdat Mana' is a Bethlehem journalist and a resident of Dheisheh refugee camp.

Bethlehem Olive Co-op Launches New Soap Factory

The Bethlehem Olive Press Cooperative

by Khalil Touma

The Bethlehem district olive press cooperative is expected to start operating its new, modern soap factory by early 1986

The new factory will significantly enhance the soap industry in the occupied territories, because it will maintain a complete production line capable as well of manufacturing the elementary pasta noodles essential for manufacturing soap. Until now, local industries have imported this material from Israel and abroad. The new Bethlehem factory will be able to supply the noodles to other local factories, a big step forward towards local self-sufficiency in soap production.

20 Years in the Making

The story of the new soap factory goes back 20 years, when the idea was first conceived. It is also the story of its parent company, the Bethlehem olive press cooperative.

The olive co-op was founded in the town of Beit Jala near Bethlehem in 1965, before the Israeli occupation. At that time it served about a dozen landowners. Now, the olive co-op has 700 members from the Bethlehem, Hebron and Jerusalem districts who use the co-op's machinery to press their annual olive crops. A similar number of non-co-op members also use the Bethlehem press.

The press started out with two semi-automative units that could process 20-24 tons of olives in 24 hours. In 1969, the co-op acquired another pressing unit.

In 1982, however, the old units were replaced when the co-op introduced a modern, fully automatic unit capable of processing two tons of olives per hour, thus cutting costs, increasing output, and enhancing the quality of oil produced.

The idea of establishing a soap factory to utilise jift and oil waste left over from the olive pressing process first originated in the late 1960s from the co-op administration. More than 10 years elapsed, however, before the idea came to life.

The final decision to go ahead with the soap factory was made in 1979 when the American Near East Refugee Agency (ANERA) agreed to give the Bethlehem olive co-op a grant of US$120,000 for machinery. The project was then supported with a low-interest loan of JD100,000 from the Central Cooperative Bank in Amman. The Bethlehem olive co-op made up the difference by providing JD250,000 in the form of buildings, land and capital. Once the co-op had purchased all the necessary machinery from the Italian firm of Gariboldi & Co and supervised its installation, the new soap factory was ready for experimental production in 1982.

The olive co-op's administration appointed a manager and an advisory committee to run the new factory. The man they chose to manage the factory is Saba al-Arja, an industrial chemist who graduated in 1958 from the American University of Cairo. Arja has extensive experience in the soap industry.

Slow Start, Hopeful Outlook

Things did not go smoothly at first. Technical problems like obtaining necessary formulas and financial obstacles have deterred the start of widescale soap production for three years already. Some 80 tons of soap were produced on an experimental basis. "Now," says Suleiman Muarke, chairman of the olive co-op's board, "we have learned from past errors and overcome obstacles in the way of launching production." He added, "We are bringing in foreign experts for a final check-up and then we will start commercial production, hopefully early 1986."

Manager Arja believes that its cooperative ownership will enable the factory to sell its soap products at minimal prices.

This is not aimed, he adds, at competing with traditional Nabulsi soap which is known for its high olive oil content. The well-established Nabulsi soap has been on the local market for decades and is successfully marketed in the West Bank and Gaza and in Arab countries. The new soap co-op line will certainly attempt to recapture a good part of the local market which has been swamped by imported Israeli and foreign toilet soap. The production capacity of the new factory will be 10-15 tons per day. Arja expressed the hope that certain Arab countries will import the new Bethlehem soap. This will require a good degree of high competition, but "we are up to it," Arja said.

Co-ops Blooming

Co-ops have been playing an increasingly important role in the West Bank economy over the last few years, particularly in light of the economic crunch West Bankers have long been facing as a result of Israeli economic policy. More and more Palestinians are coming to believe that co-ops can help them face the chronic ordeal.

A study published by Adnan Obeidat, a senior West Bank adviser to Jordan's cooperative organisation, lists 260 different types of co-ops which offer services to nearly 20 percent of the population. Certain types of co-ops are running into problems as a result of various difficulties. Some have folded. Consumers co-ops were the hardest hit by the plunging purchasing value of the Israeli shekel.

Agricultural co-ops, however, are thriving and the Bethlehem olive press is one of the strongest.

Co-ops like the Bethlehem olive press and its new soap factory help fulfil a goal which has long been a top priority for West Bank farmers and businessmen alike: industrialising agriculture. This goal has particular importance for olive farmers, a major source of raw material in the West Bank said to make about 40 percent of the national income. The number of dunums planted with olive tree is rapidly increasing despite numerous obstacles and restrictions imposed by the Israelis.

Voluntary committees have worked together with farmers to boost the olive crop. There are now 11 olive seedling plant nurseries in the West Bank. They provide various districts with new olive trees every winter. In the Bethlehem district, 350,000 olive trees were planted over the past 10 years, while in the Hebron district, nearly a million trees are estimated to have been planted over the past seven years.

The new Bethlehem soap factory will use oil extracted from jift (a residue of the olive pressing process) for its soaps. Jift is treated in four factories in the West Bank. It normally contains between three and seven percent of the oil and fatty acids required for soap production. An estimated 6000 tons of this oil could be extracted annually from West Bank jift. The new factory will obtain a good portion of the oil it needs for its soap products from jift left over at the olive press co-op. This will mean that residue jift can be used productively rather than wasted in winter stoves and local bakeries as it is now.

Entrance to the new soap factory.

How Biram was Betrayed in 1947

Swept Away

Blood Brothers, *by Father Elias Chacour, is a moving autobiography of a Palestinian who has worked all his life to help his people. In the 222-page book, published in 1984 by Chosen Books of Zondorven Corporation in Michigan, Chacour describes how the villagers of Biram, his Galilee birthplace, had good relations with the neighbouring Jews before the Zionists took the village. He also relates how it was to experience exile in his own country at the age of seven, and how he gradually recovered from the traumatic experience and learned to be proud of his identity without being bitter.*

Chacour describes his work in the Galilee village of Ibilin, and his unique efforts to lead a nonviolent struggle to return to his village of Biram. Only one building in the still-abandoned village remains standing — the church, which he and other villagers rebuilt.

Father Elias Chacour is ordained in the Melkite Church. He was educated in Paris at the Seminaire du Saint Sulpice and at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Currently he is stationed in Ibilin, the base from whence he builds schools, libraries, community centres, and youth clubs for Palestinians throughout the Galilee.

We excerpt below the third chapter of **Blood Brothers,** *entitled Swept Away.*

Early one morning, nearly two weeks after the first word about the soldiers, Biram was still resting, quiet in the mists and growing light of dawn. And then the hillside was flooded with the unfamiliar rumbling of trucks and jeeps. Men in drab-coloured uniforms with packs slung across their shoulders filled the narrow streets. My brothers and I watched from a corner of our yard, whispering among ourselves as four or five soldiers strode up to our door. They spoke with Father, who welcomed them, and they lugged their gear inside. For the next week, we were told, the soldiers would sleep in the large room beneath the loft where Mother and Father usually slept. My parents would join us on the roof.

Two details I recall most vividly.

Father had prepared us for house guests — but these Zionist soldiers were not at all like our Jewish neighbours who chatted in the yard with Father over coffee. Not that they were unkind or rude. When Father killed and roasted the lamb, blessing the feast and the men, they politely bowed their heads. Mother served them heaping plates of lamb and vegetables and bread which they ate heartily. But they remained aloof, almost brusque. To my disappointment, the feast turned out to be much less of a happy celebration than I had expected. I sidled up to Mother, feeling shy and uneasy in their presence.

And the second thing I recall was the guns. All the while, my eyes were drawn by their cold glint. They were always present, even when we ate. I noticed the small, carved trigger where the finger would rest, squeezing... squeezing... the long, sleek barrel... the tiny, death-spitting mouth... an explosion shook my imagination. I shuddered and looked away.

The guns set us apart entirely, no matter how polite the atmosphere. I understood even then that the guns were might — power — and that my family and the villagers of Biram had no might. In the coming days the guns were everywhere while our life went on as usual. We went off to school and the barrels glinted at every corner. At night we lay down on the roof under the cold, clear-shining spring stars, and the guns were propped beneath us.

After a week, word passed through Biram that the military commander had some urgent business with the men of the village. Father went along to the square, expecting to hear that the troops would soon be moving on. Instead, the commander, a short bull of a man, had delivered some alarming "confidential news."

"Our intelligence sources say that Biram is in serious danger," he announced tersely. "Fortunately, my men can protect you. But it would risk your safety to stay in your homes. You're going to have to move out into the hills for a few days. Lock everything. Leave the keys with us. I promise nothing will be disturbed."

When Father told us about the order, he reported that most of the village men were disturbed. They remembered the turmoil of the 1930s with the occupying British forces. And there had been word of new bombings in Jerusalem, of trouble between the British and the Zionists. If there was to be any confrontation between these forces, the men of Biram decided it would be best to keep their families safely out of the way. The commander urged them on, saying, "Travel light. Take nothing with you. You must leave today — as soon as possible."

To any other people, sudden evacuation — leaving home and all the conveniences to live outdoors with a large family — would be threatening if not entirely miserable. For us, it did not seem so difficult. We were accustomed to spending entire days outside, and we often slept on the ground when travel or work among the flocks and fields took us away from shelter. Then we would simply huddle together beneath a tree or beside some rocks and be content. Often, as in times of mourning for a deceased relative when no one cooked, we relied solely on our land, eating nothing but figs and olives for several days at a time. Since we children had already been sleeping on the roof, we accepted it as another part of the adventure.

Quickly, Mother and Father set the house in order, urging us to hurry and leave behind everything but the heavy clothes we were wearing. I was the only one permitted to carry a blanket with me. Having just been in a scrap with my cousin Asad, I was allowed to wrap this covering over my face to hide a black eye with was somewhat painful and embarrassing. Then we were hurried outside.

Father locked the door behind us. Then he handed the key to one of our soldier-guests who was leaning against the front wall, his gun hanging casually from a strap over his shoulder.

"I know that God will protect our house," Father said sincerely. "And you'll be safe, too."

"Yes," the soldier replied with a smile. That was all.

When we left our yard, I was amazed to see dozens of people moving through the streets, joining other families and streaming out of Biram. Father led us down the steep hillsides, toward a grove of olive trees, with Rudah and Chacour walking manfully beside him. Mother held my hand as I stumbled along, the blanket held protectively over my bruised eye. A woman who had been struggling along ahead of us with a child balanced on each hip had to stop and rest. Now I saw that she was an aunt, one of Father's sisters. At the edge of the grove, I caught a glimpse of my cousin Asad and his family. Our eyes met, and he ducked his head with a guilty look. Then he disappeared amid the hundreds of other villagers who were trekking out of Biram.

Every family seemed to have the same idea: The olive grove would be the perfect place of refuge during our vigil. The crowd spread out beneath the old and twisted boughs that spread for acres and acres down toward the valley. It was said that the trees had grown here since the time of Christ or before. Perhaps He and the disciples had eaten olives from these very branches. Now the trunks were cratered and dark with age, but the fruit was still plentiful and delicious. The silver-shading leaves would protect us from sun and rain. And from here, the men could best watch the comings and goings in Biram on the hilltop far above us.

Living as a nomad would be a great adventure — at least I thought so.

In a day or two, when the pain and swelling left my eye and I was ready for fun, the novelty of camping had worn off for everyone else. My brothers were simply sullen. The men, I could tell, were beginning to feel nervous that they had left their homes and lands under the protection of strangers. The older people were starting to suffer from sleeping on the damp, stoney ground. Though the days were sunny, the temperature dropped rapidly at sunset, plunging us from a hot afternoon into a shivering night. Everyone was thankful that I had brought my blanket. All six of us children would try to squeeze under it while Mother and Father huddled together uncomfortably on the ground.

The cold was somehow bearable. The rain was not. A heavy, grey bank of clouds covered the hills on the fourth day. A chilling drizzle spattered through the olive leaves, soaking the grass, mixing the gravel and dirt into mud beneath our feet.

Father led us through the trees to the grotto at the edge of our land. The inside walls were layered with grey and green moss, and a faint smell of damp humus and of goats hung in the air. It was small, but all of us could fit inside, protected from the night drafts and sudden rains.

For nearly two weeks, the men kept up their vigil, watching for threatening activity in the village. Occasionally, a fleet of trucks would arrive in a cloud of dust, and shortly they would drive out again. Mostly, things remained quiet.

"An accurate, moving account worthy of careful attention." — Wes Pippert, Chief UPI Correspondent, Israel

BLOOD BROTHERS

A Palestinian Struggles for Reconciliation in the Middle East

ELIAS CHACOUR
with David Hazard

a chosen book

"The betrayal cut like a knife. A few of the men were bitterly angry, seething with the thought that we had been tricked out of our village by these European men we had trusted."

The people of Biram continued to camp under the olive trees, foraging for food, drinking from artesian springs and getting stiffer each night from sleeping on the ground. Still there was no word from the soldiers.

At last the elders decided not to wait for the military commander's signal to return. A delegation of men collected in the olive grove and climbed the hill to Biram.

Before long, they came running back, their faces a confusion of anguish and fear. The horror of their report spread through the grove.

Upon entering Biram and passing the first house, they had seen that the door was broken in. Most of the furniture and belongings were gone. What was left lay smashed and scattered on the floor. At the next house, it was the same, and at the house across the street. Chairs were smashed, curtains shredded, dishes shattered against the walls.

Then they were stopped by armed soldiers. The one who appeared to be in charge waved his gun menacingly and barked, "What are you doing here? Get out!"

Angry, and certain that these impudent soldiers needed a reprimand from their superior, the men stood their ground.

"Where is your commanding officer? We are the people of Biram, and we want to bring our wives and children home!"

The one in charge approached them, his gun held squarely across his chest. "The commander is gone," he said coolly. "He left us to protect the village. You have no business here anymore."

At once, all the men raised their voices.

"Protect our village? You're destroying it!"

"Intruders!"

"Get out — leave us in peace!"

The soldiers levelled their guns at them, flicking off the safety switches. Angrily, one of them growled, "The land is ours. Get out now. *Move!*"

The betrayal cut like a knife. A few of the men were bitterly angry, seething with the thought that we had been tricked out of our village by these European men we had trusted. Others were simply bewildered. Pain etched every face.

Father and Mother seemed as bewildered as children by such a callous betrayal. I think it was simply beyond their understanding.

The poor *mukhtars* were mobbed with questions: "How can we get Biram back?" "What's going to happen to our home?" "Can't you make the soldiers leave?" Of course they could do nothing — two ageing, unarmed and bewildered men against the guns of these soldiers.

More immediate was the need for shelter and protection from the weather. Obviously, we could not continue to live exposed to rain and the cold nights.

After a brief discussion, it was proposed that we climb the next hill to Gish, our nearest neighbouring village. Surely the people there, who were also Christians, could make some provision for us temporarily while we sorted out this mistake by the rude, young soldiers.

Cresting the hill that rose between our village and Gish, we felt a strange somberness. No shepherds greeted us as we crossed the open fields. The lot where young boys played soccer was vacant. A frightening pall of silence hung in the streets between the empty houses where young women and grandmothers should have been chattering among sleeping babies and old men.

After a long search through the empty village, we discovered ten elderly people who told us they had been left behind. From them we learned that these unarmed people had suffered a fate similar to our own.

Soldiers had arrived in trucks, they told us. But for some reason, they did not use the ruse with these people that they had used in Biram. With machine guns levelled, they abruptly ordered the people to get out, not bothering to drive off these few old men and women who were apparently too feeble to abandon their homes. One old man was certain that the soldiers were impatient to get the evacuation over, because he had heard gunfire just outside the village, "Just to warn the people to move along faster." Most of them suspected that the villagers had fled into Lebanon, which was only a few kilometres distant.

"We do not know when they will return," said one old man, next to tears.

"Or *if* they will return," added another grimly.

Even with this weight of sadness, they offered us a sort of ruined hospitality: "You are welcome to stay in our village," they told us, "though little is left here."

He was right. The soldiers had rampaged through most of the homes, smashing or carrying off the furnishings in their trucks. At least it was shelter.

Unfortunately, there were fewer dwellings in Gish than families from Biram. In some homes, two families were cramped into a single room with old sheets or worn carpets hung for dividers. For families with ten or more children, conditions were utterly miserable. Abu 'Eed visited, offering comfort and encouragement.

Father was fortunate enough to find a tiny, one-room house for us. He was also able to find a small room nearby for his aged parents who had suffered terribly during the nights outdoors, as had all the elderly of Biram. Our room was dilapidated, barely larger than the grotto on Father's land, and empty but for a few broken chairs. In one corner I found a smashed toy — a doll with its head crushed in. Fingering it, I thought of the child who must have dropped it in fear and confusion and a ghostly feeling came over me. I drew my hand away suddenly and never touched the doll again.

Straggling groups that had been driven from other villages carried more distressing news as we settled uncomfortably in Gish. The soldiers were moving systematically through the hill country, routing the quiet, unprotected villagers. Many were fleeing on foot for Lebanon or Syria. And there was talk of violence in the south. A certain, unnamable eeriness clung to the air with each fragment of information that came.

We wondered, as we tried to piece our lives together, when the soldiers would return and what they would do if they found us in our neighbours' village. And though Mother and Father repeatedly assured us that we were safe, one thought remained fearfully unspoken: What had happened to the men, women and children of Gish?

I would be the first to learn the answer.

A week or more after our arrival, Charles and I were shuffling glumly through the streets together when we found a soccer ball. It was slightly soft from the cold, but still had enough life to respond to a good kick. Immediately, Charles broke into a trot, footing the ball ahead of him. "Come on, Elias," he called, "Let's have a game!" From side streets and open doorways, ten other boys joined as we passed.

Dodging through the streets, we reached a sandy, open lot at the edge of Gish. With the innocent abandon of small boys, the fate of Biram was momentarily forgotten. We raced up and down the lot, losing our pent-up energies in a swift-footed competition.

Charles' team scored two points almost at once. One boy was lining up for another attempt, eyes riveted on the goal, when I charged him, roaring, laughing, waving my arms. He kicked hard, and the ball breezed by my head, high and wild, out of bounds. I pivoted and tore after it. The other team dropped back to defend their goal, and my teammates took their field positions awaiting my return.

I reached the ball where it had thumped and settled in a stretch of loose sand. Oddly, the ground seemed to have been churned up. I stopped and picked up the ball, noticing a peculiar odour. An odd shape caught my eye — something like a thick twig poking up through the sand. And the strange colour...

I bent down and pulled on the thing. It came up stiffly, the sand falling back from a swollen finger, a blue-black hand and arm. The odour gripped my throat...

"Elias, what's wrong?" Someone was hollering in the reeling distance.

Numbness dulled all feeling. The stiff arm lay in the sand at my feet — a boy's arm. I imagined the face — sand in the sealed eyes — gagging the slack mouth. I thought I was yelling. No sound could escape my throat. Vaguely, I could hear Charles beside me calling...

Later, the shallow graves were uncovered. Buried beneath a thin layer of sand were two dozen bodies. The gunfire that the old man had heard had done its bitter work.

The victims were hastily re-buried in honourable graves. There was seething anger and talk of retribution. But how could there be any retribution when we had no power against this madness? Most of the men, Father especially, would have no part of such ugly talk.

As for me, the innocence and durability of youth were on my side. No one mentioned the incident to me at all. Mother, Father and my grandparents were overly kind, ignoring my outbursts of impatience or tears. My brothers and cousins eventually distracted me with more games, though we avoided the sandlot for quite some time.

In the coming months, as summer crept into Galilee, I was little aware of events outside our secluded hills. But major decisions were being made by nations far more powerful than ours — decisions that would soon leave us without a homeland or an identity. Father and the village elders honed their disbelieving ears to news about the drama that was unfolding across Palestine and in the world's supreme court of justice — the United Nations.

The elders learned, as news and rumours travelled like wildfire through Galilee, that the "question of Palestine" had come before the UN.

It seemed that the Zionists no longer wanted the British to control Palestine, and they wanted to establish their national homeland in place of ours. The British, whose military and financial ability to govern Palestine were bankrupted by the long war in Europe, could not stop the Zionists from taking over the land. The Zionist forces, known as the *Haganah*, had taken over the munitions factories in the south and were using the mortars, bombs, machine guns and heavy equipment against British and Palestinian alike. Each time a Palestinian village was raided, a few of its men would gather in the hills with their donkeys and antiquated carbines in a pathetic attempt to protect their land. These ill-prepared bands were subsequently crushed by the *Haganah* in further reprisals. It was hardly a contest. And now the United Nations had been called upon to arbitrate a peaceful solution to the bloodshed.

Certainly, the men of Biram reasoned hopefully, the powerful nations of the world who controlled the UN would reach a just solution. The summer of 1947 passed, the rains of autumn soaked the earth, and still we waited as refugees. Month after month in our cramped quarters, we prayed for the news that we could return to our homes in Biram.

In November, refugees fleeing from larger towns brought more devastating news.

Palestine was to be partitioned in what the UN called a "compromise." Our elders and hundreds of thousands of Palestinians throughout the land were shocked beyond words, for the terms of the "compromise" were brutal.

The Zionists were to possess the *majority* of Palestine — fifty-four percent — even though they owned only seven percent of the land! In five major areas that were being handed over, well over half the people — up to seventy and eighty, even ninety-nine percent — were Palestinians. The "compromise" gave the Zionists almost all the fertile land, including the huge, main citrus groves that accounted for most of our peoples' export income. It gave away the vast Negev region where the Beduins produced most of the barley and wheat grown in Palestine. There was three times more cultivated land in this one area than the incoming, European settlers had cultivated in all Palestine in the previous thirty years.

Such concessions, in the eyes of the Palestinian people, could hardly be called a "compromise." Our people were being told to hand over more than half of our well-cultivated lands that produced our only livelihood.

How had such a sweeping and one-sided decision been reached? Among the nations of the world, the UN vote was accepted without question or protest.

As an eight-year-old boy, the elders' talk was just words to me. It would be years before I discovered the truth about international intrigues and clandestine agreements that had led to

Continued on page 10

Settler Violence Quadrupled Since 1980

by Ghassan Bishara

Reverend Donald Wagner, National Director of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), described the situation in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza as "progressing towards potential expulsion of the Palestinians from the territories...", and the US policy there as bankrupt. Wagner made these condemnatory statements at a press conference July 16 when he released a well-documented and researched study entitled *Israeli Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories: 1980-1984*. Along with Wagner to answer questions about the study was Henry Schwarzschild, another member of the PHRC's Board of Directors and a member of the committee that put out the report.

The long needed study, complete with both maps and tables, discusses not only violence against Palestinians under Israeli occupation but also the roots of that violence and the Palestinian and Israeli government response to it. The study relies on newspaper reports, with at least one Israeli confirmation for each reported incident, and on lawyer's files in some cases. Its findings on violence against Palestinians are especially interesting. A "dramatic increase in reported incidents during the five years surveyed" was found. In fact, the number of incidents more than doubled between 1980 to 1982, and almost doubled again by the following year. The study documents 30 reported incidents in 1980, 69 incidents in 1982 and 119 in 1983. Under the category of deaths, the study shows that in 1980 one Palestinian was killed by "settlers in civilian roles," seven in 1982 and nine in 1983.

Other areas in which acts of violence were reported include injuries, abductions, harassments, and violence against property. The study also finds a direct correlation between the occupation authorities' policy towards the Palestinians and the increased acts of settler violence. The implementation of the so-called "Iron Fist" policy, the study finds, has effectively legitimised settler violence against Palestinians in the territories; the more ruthless the policy is, it was found, the more frequent individual violence becomes.

According to the study, the roots of violence and terror in Israel can be traced to the Gush Emunim ideology of what has been called the "redemptionist climate... where a near sabbatean atmosphere... reigned, one of Messianism and divinification of the land, sanctification of violence and a mystification of force."

These roots of violence, the study concludes, come in response to Gush Emunim and its allies: "Messianic nationalism, occupation and settlement policies and anti-democratic trends." Having conquered the Holy Land, this theory states, its followers "must concentrate on conquering uncleanliness within the individual and within the Land. Since the Land of Israel is considered to be totally sacred, it cannot be delivered to the gentiles." Jewish residents of the "sacred" Land of Israel are therefore "commanded to kill those nations, the descendants of the seven tribes of Amalek... present day Palestinians..." According to the views of moderates within this camp, the rights of those other than Jews in Israel "must be restricted, and if they are to stay in the land their status can only be as aliens or strangers."

An extreme representative of this school of thought, Rabbi Shlomo Aviner, argues that conquering the Land is of a higher priority than the "moral human considerations about the national rights of the gentiles to our country," adding that Israel's duty is to "be holy, but not to be moral." Because Israel and its people have been "chosen to be above" all other societies, they therefore are not bound by the same principles of morality that govern the rest of the people. An even more extreme example is that of Rabbi Israel Hess, the PHRC report states. Rabbi Hess justifies genocide of non-Jews as a fulfilment of the commandment to "annihilate the memory of Amalek," or the Palestinians.

This extremely dangerous interpretation of Jewish law, as most other rabbis would agree, coupled with what Henry Schwarzschild, himself a Jew, called a "bizarre combination of Ottoman, British, Jordanian and now Israeli law" in the territories, produces the outcome that has been witnessed in the territories since 1967. Palestinians become either descendants of Amalek, whose annihilation is 'justified,' or 'terrorists' who deserve only the same treatment.

The PHRC report analyses both Palestinian and Israeli government reactions to settler violence. While the latter has done little to check the violence against the Palestinian population in the territories, the Palestinians themselves escalated their resistance to settler violence perpetrated against them.

The study provides data strongly suggesting that the Israeli "Iron Fist" policy, aimed at quelling Palestinian resistance to acts of violence, was ineffective. The report also shows a direct correlation between settler violence against Palestinians and Palestinian resistance to such violence. "At best," the study states, "the government's iron fist, coupled with settler vigilante actions, is rather ineffective in its avowed aim of deterrence and guarantee of settler security." The change of government in Israel, from the Likud to the government of National Unity, the study concludes, did not result in any favourable change.

The Israeli government's reaction to the spiralling violence, the study finds, was inaction. The settlers were free to carry out their violence and "campaign of terror with relative impunity," during the years in question. Pressure from certain legal experts in Israel and peace oriented groups ended with the appointment, on April 1981, of the Karp Commission. Conclusions of the report were ignored and, in protest, the Chairperson of the Commission, Yehudit Karp, resigned and accused the government of neglecting the report and leaving it to "gather dust." The report recommended certain reforms which, up to now, have not been acted upon.

In the press conference Wagner and Schwarzschild deplored continued violence against Palestinians in the occupied territories. They both agree that the way to end the spiralling violence is to end the occupation altogether. Following the press conference at the National Press Club, PHRC held a panel discussion on Capitol Hill that lasted for two hours and was sponsored by "various members of the House." Among the speakers were, Hassan Abdul Rahman of the Palestine Information Office, Henry Schwarzschild, Andrew Killgore and Reverend Wagner. ■

Swept Away

Continued from page 8&9

this Middle East tragedy. For now, the eyes of all were blind to these political machinations. And I was only aware that my peaceful homeland of Palestine, known as the Holy Land, had become a land of war.

Shortly after the UN vote, the British announced that they would be withdrawing all forces from the Middle East the following spring — by May 15, 1948.

Throughout the winter months and into spring 1948, we heard of more terror, of villages blown up by barrel bombs while others narrowly escaped the flaming ruins of their homes. Thousands were now uprooted, living in the hills and arid wastelands.

Most especially, we came to fear one name — the highly-trained and single-minded Zionist organisation called the *Irgun*. One of its leaders had been among the ten terrorists most wanted by the British for his part in bombing the luxurious King David Hotel in Jerusalem. His name was Menachem Begin and his proclaimed goal was to "purify" the land of Palestinian people.

In April of that year one of these acts of purification was the destruction of a village on the outskirts of modern Jerusalem. The scene at Deir Yassin was later recorded by an eyewitness, Jacques de Reynier, the head of the International Red Cross emergency delegation.

On April 10, Reynier was stopped on the Jerusalem road by members of the *Irgun*, who refused him entry to the village. He bravely pushed through their lines and into homes where he found "bodies cold. Here the 'cleaning up' had been done with machine-guns, then hand grenades. It had been finished off with knives, anyone could see that... As I was about to leave, I heard something like a sigh... It was a little girl of ten, mutilated by a hand grenade, but still alive... There had been 400 people in this village; about 50 of them escaped and were still alive..."

The native Jewish people were shocked and disgusted. In tears, they protested that such things violated their ancient beliefs. Upon hearing the news about Deir Yassin, the Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem flew into a fury.

Unfortunately, religious censure was not powerful enough to stop the military machine.

As May approached, more trucks rumbled into peasant villages. And daily, refugees swarmed through Galilee bringing word of more towns sacked. Others drowned in the Mediterranean as they tried to swim for overcrowded refugee ships leaving from Haifa and Lidda.

Early on May 14, while the last British were scrambling to get out of Palestine, a young man named David Ben Gurion assembled more than two hundred journalists and photographers to proclaim the establishment of the State of Israel. Within hours, the government that the new Prime Minister Ben Gurion and his comrades had been carefully planning for months was in place. Within sixty minutes, the United States officially recognised the new nation of Israel under Zionist rule.

The same journalists and photographers who attended Ben Gurion's proclamation soon recorded for the world our summer of tears. Through May, June and July, almost one million Palestinians were driven out of the newly-proclaimed democracy. Soldiers from surrounding Arab nations of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon fought to stop the takeover, but were driven back. In the confusion and terror, husbands and wives were forever parted, parents lost small children never to see them again and many elderly died.

The Jews who had been our neighbours, our friends who lived with us and shared our customs, ached for us. They could not understand or accept such violence, but they were powerless to help. And the nations were silent.

By autumn of 1948, the Zionists had swept north and were close to us again. The forces were "cleansing" the towns around the Sea of Galilee, almost at our doorstep. As winter set in — our second winter in Gish — the Zionist advance stopped short of the upper Galilee. Thin blankets of snow fell, and only one question was discussed in low voices around guttering fires: Would the soldiers find us here in our hill-country refuge — or would they think we had fled to Lebanon or Syria or Jordan as had so many others?

Although we had been refugees from our own home for almost two years, Father never prayed for us, for our protection or provision. He continued in his simple belief that his children were like "the birds of the air" that God had promised to feed and he refused to worry over us — though I think Mother had a more difficult time when food was scarce. We had barely survived our first year, eating animals from the abandoned flocks, making bread from the stores of grain and working small gardens.

I was increasingly aware of Father's unbelievably forgiving attitude toward the soldiers. He faithfully continued our times of family prayer and never failed to pray for those who had made themselves our enemies. Night after night I would lean my head against Mother; fingering the fish and doves on her necklace, and hear Father pray: "Forgive them, oh God. Heal their pain. Remove their bitterness. Let us show them your peace."

As spring 1949 pounced upon us, tiger-like with its ferocious heat, I could see little peace anywhere but in our own home. An uneasy lull moved in with the blistering days and cool nights. We rose each morning with the fear that we might not lie down on our mats that evening. At any moment we, too, might be swept away. ■

Palestine and Culture

Music With a Message

by Eric Newsome

Western musical culture in the 20th century has produced (or, more correctly, manufactured) a number of superstars — the Beatles, John Travolta, Michael Jackson — whose songs find eager and receptive audiences in the Third World as well as in their own countries. The functions of such audiences are limited to two extremely simple ones: to listen... and to buy. There is nothing more to it than that.

In the past, however, the situation was very different. For in an age that some people still insist on calling the good old days, the workers and peasants of Western Europe controlled many aspects of their own culture. They made their own music. This creative activity constituted a tradition which was strong enough to survive the upheavals of the industrial revolution and which continued during the 19th century. Then came radio and the gramophone record. Commerce and industry, joined together, created mass mechanised entertainment as a means of profit-making. The workers still danced, still sang. But what they danced and sang no longer came from themselves.

Folk culture in the West does, of course, still survive. It exists as an aspect of history and a facet of tourism. Yet it is a plant that struggles in shallow soil, its roots weak, its existence artificially maintained. We can listen to the choral singing of Welsh voices. We can watch the Morris dancers of England or the 18th century dances of provincial France. We can admire and applaud such performances. But all these attractions fade away as soon we experience the culture of Palestine. All these activities become pale and feeble, like flowers that do not receive enough light, as soon as we discover the power, the strength, the beauty and the energy of the revolutionary culture created by the Palestinian people.

The popular culture of Palestine is not intended for a numb or passive audience, and it is not tailored to maximise the profits of big companies. It is not simply an amusing way of passing the time, like disco fever or the hit parade. It does not depend upon the limited skills and personalities of over-praised and overpaid individuals who are heavily coated with synthetic gloss. But its power is deeply rooted in the struggle of the people. Its strength takes life from their determination. Its beauty reflects their aspiration. The singing and dancing are created from the struggle and they themselves are actions that intensify the struggle. They exist as a banner of the determination and every day they help to increase and extend it. They express and articulate the aspiration, which in turn continues to grow in beauty and in clarity.

Palestinian culture is assertive and dynamic. It is a vital part of the life and experience of the people precisely because its purposes are revolutionary. A group which has reached a high level of artistic excellence in performance, such as *Funoon* and *Al A'shquin*, with costume, lighting and professional standards, can convey to us the deep levels of meaning that make this culture significant and essential. But a performance by students in T-shirts and blue jeans can also be vivid, enlightening and memorable. A spontaneous action that takes place suddenly in a house, at a picnic, on a journey, can also — and fortunately often does — make us breathe more deeply and feel more keenly alive. Such a culture helps us to define ourselves in relation to each other. It confronts us with the realities of the present. It challenges us with the objectives of the future.

These are only descriptive words. But... but when the drummer begins to play, you have no choice — you *must* listen to him. This drumming is strong and insistent, it will get your attention no matter what else you might have been thinking about. It doesn't care what you are thinking or feeling: it's going to make you think about one subject only, to feel passionately about one subject only. This drumming beats the name of Palestine on the air and about your ears and in your brain and your blood; and there's no time or space or energy except for this drumming, this dominant rhythmic revolutionary call that knows how to make you answer YES.

Ah, but... but when the dancers begin to dance you find yourself ready to answer again — your eyes must follow them closely. The men dance with bold vertical movements, with a stamping of feet that merges with the drumming and with you looking and listening. It's a dance that seems as old, as authentic, as fresh and inexhaustible as human creativity and endeavour. It's a dance of men who know how to hunt, and how to fight, and how to survive. The men dance. They are swooping and leaping, moving towards you. You want to get up and join them, for their feet are treading the path to the future, their arms are pointing the way. Their eyes are flashing, their faces are pools of light, their bodies are tongues of fire. The leader dances in front of them but their response to him is perfection and there is no gap, no breaking of unity. The dancing and the drumming cannot be detached from each other, they are integral parts of something that is alive magnificently. As for you — you too cannot now be detached from this.

And then... and then the singer begins his song, and you must give up everything in order to listen to this voice. For it's the voice of a nation that refuses to disappear, it's the voice of a people that refuses to go down in the dust. The drumming is a fire, the dancing is a fire, the singing too is a fire. It is a fire that can force us all to blaze more strongly. A fire that goes on burning every day and never dies down. It is a fire from which Palestine, like a phoenix, prepares itself to rise.

What is it that the singing tells us? The music comes from the past, and that gives it validity. The words are for our own time and our own situation, and that gives them authenticity. It is the fusion of the two in the efforts and the movement of the people that makes this culture a true revolutionary force. And when they sing there is a lot for us to learn and understand and absorb. This culture is not concerned with fantasies and dreams and impossible visions; nor is it a form of escape from the realities of Palestinian experience. On the contrary, what it does is to confront the realities, to examine them — and through this to raise our consciousness and our knowledge to a more fully developed level. We, as audience, are not simply to listen. We are to feel intensely. We are to think deeply.

The singing informs us about the past and the present. About those who struggled and died, about those who are living and struggling now. The singing informs us about ourselves. But fighting is very far from being the only theme. For when they sing, they sing about the land and about daily life in the villages — the struggles of the poor through centuries of domination and economic oppression. They sing in order to celebrate their occupied cities — about Haifa, about Ramallah — and they sing about Beirut. They sing about life in the camps, about those whose villages have been lost, that are now memories but also desires and objectives. They sing to give us their ideas about history, religion, politics, about leaders, about strategy, about life in the prison, about tactics.

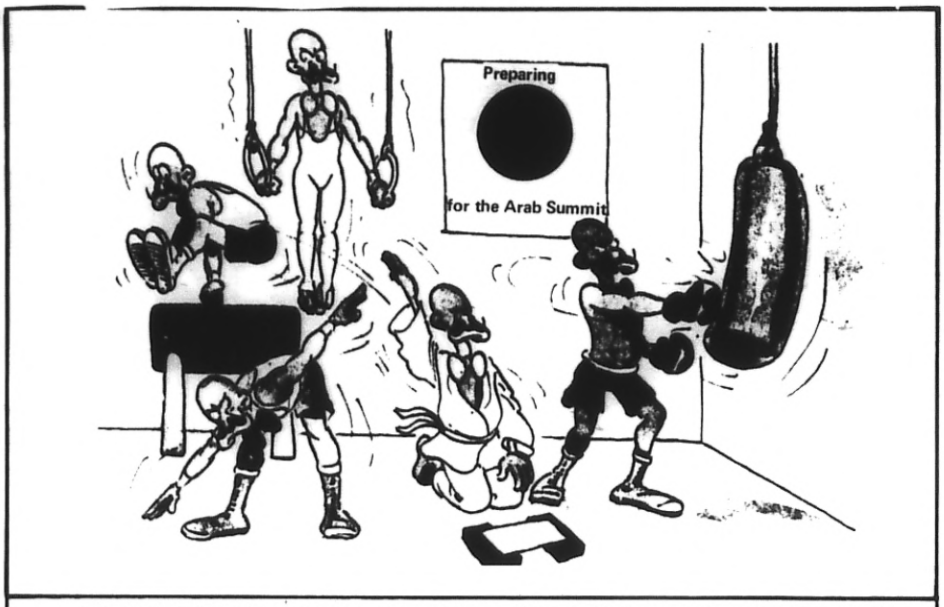
Everyone sings. For when you have realised that here is a powerful and stirring force that compels you to give yourself to it — that since you are not blind you *must* look, since you are not deaf you *must* listen, since you are not stupid you *must* understand — you respond emotionally, intellectually, above all politically. And then you find that the rest of the audience has got there long before you. The audience is made up of mature men and women, young men and girls, children — and sometimes a foreign comrade. And very quickly all their eyes are flashing with fire too. Their clapping is joined to the hands of the drummer and the stamping feet of the dancers. Their voices too are raised to join the song.

Palestine, overtaken, occupied, oppressed — this Palestine dances and sings. What does it want to teach us? It is a simple but profound lesson, and we can learn it every day. These drummers and dancers and singers are more effective than ordinary teachers. They are the true educators of the Palestinian masses, the true critics, the true commentators, the ones who most clearly and strongly prepare the people and help them to sustain their task. It is a simple but comprehensive lesson, and we can put it into practice every day. Drummers, dancers, singers and audience, all united together are writing the name of their country in music and in fire, in the blood and the brains of all the people.

They are telling themselves, and each other, and all of us, that this nation will not relinquish its rights and this people will not go away. No amount of wheeling and dealing, of shuttling and shuffling, of bargaining and betraying will accomplish what planes and prisons and guns have not been able to achieve. The Palestinian people have not given up. They never, ever, will give up.

The struggle goes on. The singing is an essential part of the struggle, and it goes on too. The fire of a revolutionary culture blazes and burns. The phoenix at last will rise. And then the singing will be even more beautiful. ■

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that will hold a dialogue with the US captured the interest of the local press this week.

Al Quds Arabic daily, with close connections to Jordan, has featured daily front page stories on the subject. *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, whose editor was named as one of the Palestinian delegates, kept a low profile on the subject, except for an editorial in which it named those rejecting Palestinian-US dialogue as Israel and certain Arab and Palestinian groups.

Al Sha'ab Arabic daily stayed quiet on the subject with one major headline which said the meetings will not take place. No editorials were written by *Al Sha'ab* on the subject.

Al Mithaq, the daily opposition paper, has strongly attacked the Palestinian delegation. A number of Palestinian figures were quoted opposing the diplomatic initiative.

Established Facts

Israel has been careful to renew its absolute enmity to the PLO by declaring its well-known no's. This declaration coincided with the meeting between Peres and two West Bank personalities, Elias Freij and Hikmat al-Masri.

We have heard and we hear today some *Fetwas* [legal opinion] issued by personalities in the occupied territories volunteering to concede the independent state. They are willing to accept leftovers and to impose their views on our people.

Amid this commotion, facts are being confirmed by the Palestinian leadership. The most important is Palestinian representation which is not subject to any bargaining. The only framework that is acceptable is that of an international peace conference attended by all concerned parties.

AL SHA'AB
July 18

Sight and Hope

As the Palestinian Right moves quickly toward American solutions, nationalist and progressive forces must take the initiative to stop this sliding of the Right. The Palestinian Right has taken a sharp turn on the slope by declaring the names of the persons who would represent it in the negotiations with the US and Israel. Therefore, the Salvation Front has to take action to confront this sharp turn.

AL MITHAQ
July 19

Kissinger's Siege Has Been Lifted

Finally, the names of the members of the Palestinian delegation have become known. The delegation's task will admittedly be difficult, although it will not exceed holding a dialogue with the US. This means that the siege laid by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on the PLO is coming to an end.

In 1974, Kissinger conditioned a US-PLO dialogue on PLO recognition of Israel and of UN resolutions 242 and 338. But 10 years later the US has realised that by continuing to ignore the PLO, the Palestinian people's sole and legitimate representative, it is in fact consecrating its isolation in the world, a thing which does not suit a superpower.

The US agreement to open a dialogue with the PLO is, furthermore, an American approval that the PLO is a major and basic party in the Arab-Israeli conflict. This proves that the PLO has been able to prove to the entire world that it is capable of representing and leading the Palestinian people.

We hope that the PLO will succeed in winning recognition from the US as the sole, authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

AL QUDS
July 19

Outbidders Should Fall Silent

The declaration of the names of the Palestinian members to the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation for dialogue with the US is a first step toward dialogue itself, which is not an end but a means to get the US to recognise the PLO and start an official dialogue with it.

The US recognition of the PLO is not also an end but a means to prepare the conditions for an international conference. Therefore this is not the best time for altercations and outbiddings. The Palestinian leadership has the right to choose the way to work as it sees fit. Outbidders should keep silent.

There is still one fact to remember. It is that the US was and still is the staunchest supporter of Israel. That is why we insist that it recognise the PLO as a step toward convening the international conference.

AL FAJR
July 20

Those who Reject Dialogue and Palestinian Legitimacy

It has become clear now that those rejecting dialogue with the US are the same people who earlier rejected the convening of the 17th PNC and the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement of February 11. They are the same people who refused to defend the Palestinian camps in Beirut; they refused Palestinian national unity 'inside and outside'; they refused to endorse the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and they refused Arab and international legitimacy.

This long list of rejection is what the rejectionists and refuseniks are dependent upon in their rejection of the dialogue with the US. They reject this dialogue not because the US is an imperialist anti-Palestinian country, or because of its special relationship with Israel, or because this dialogue is to no avail and so on. They simply reject dialogue because it is the PLO under Arafat that achieved this significant step toward opening a dialogue with the US administration.

This rejection stems therefore from political enmity to Palestinian legitimacy and from foreign domination. This rejection meets with the Israeli rejection of the principle of dialogue with the US.

Otherwise how could these 'revolutionary rejectionists' explain their blessing of the Syrian-American dialogue on the slaughter of Lebanon and the Palestinian camps? Why did they turn their ordinary opposition to such rejection that divided the people?

AL FAJR
July 22

The Terrorists' Sentences

The Jewish terrorists were relieved yesterday when the District Court sentenced them. At the same time the demand increased for their release. We would like to ask if anyone in the Israeli official parties participating in the government has the right to express astonishment at the growth of Kahanism and anti-Arab racist acts. Can't we describe their comments as hypocracy because they ignore the fact that this Kahanism.....

The terrorists were handled gently after their arrest. Such an approach implies support for the terrorists' acts and encouragement for others to follow in their footsteps. If anyone is interested in eliminating Jewish terror he should remove its causes.

AL SHA'AB
July 23

Our People and the Sell - Out Approach

The developments on the Jordanian and Palestinian arena are a result of the deviation started in 1982. The Palestinian front was split, relations were cut off with the nationalist and progressive forces and states, the Amman PNC was convened, and an agreement was signed.

Above all this approach will end up accepting 242 which considers the Palestinian cause no more than a refugees' problem.

Is it possible that all these concessions are made for 'dialogue' with the US? Contrary to what the Palestinian Right and Arab reactionaries are claiming, these concessions will lead to surrenderist solutions. This approach therefore, does not represent the will of our people.

AL MITHAQ
July 23

Hospice

Continued from page 1

wants to deny our Palestinian people in Jerusalem their right to receive medical treatment at Hospice and to force them to become dependent on Israeli health institutions and clinics."

The Hospice Friends Committee, founded last year to follow up the case of the hospital, had proposed many alternatives to circumvent the closure and enable Hospice to continue to serve thousands of Old City residents. Isma'il Tazziz told journalists that representatives of 57 national institutions in the occupied territories signed a memorandum outlining a proposal to finance the hospital. A press release distributed at the conference said: "We, the national institutions and individuals, totally reject the decision to close down the Hospice Hospital. We hold the Israeli authorities fully responsible for the legal and health aspects of the issue and for any decrease in the quality and quantity of medical services available to the Palestinian Arab population of Jerusalem." The statement continued, "We stress that there has been a policy and a decison to close the hospital with no regard to the proposals presented by the Hospice Friends Committee which repeatedly applied in 1983 and 1984 for permission to improve the hospital conditions."

Jerusalemites also strongly criticised the position of the Austrian Church, which owns the Hospice building. Muhtadi told *Al Fajr* that the Austrian Church had misled Arabs into thinking the church opposed the Hospice closure when, in fact, they had already approved it. Muhtadi said that Israeli Health Minister Mordechai Gur presented him with a signed letter stating the Austrian Church's approval of the closure.

Austrian Ambassador to Israel Dr Otto Pleinert visited the Israeli Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem July 24. Embassy officials told *Al Fajr* that the Ambassador "expressed Austria's desire to have the Hospice closure postponed for humanitarian reasons, until a Day Clinic has been established."

Tazziz told reporters that the closure decision was made long ago. "Where will these patients go?" he asked. "I appeal to all world organisations to intervene on behalf of the hospital and prevent the closure."

The Israeli government last week appointed a social worker to transfer Hospice patients to Israeli hospitals. Muhtadi said the Hospice receives between 15 to 20 patients every day. Since last week, only two or three patients have been transferred to Israeli hospitals, he said. A pregnant woman from the West Bank delivered in the car on her way to Ramallah hospital after she was denied entry to the hospital.

Dr Muhtadi spoke about the gradual steps the government had taken to cut down hospital services such as reducing beds from 120 to 50 and the personnel from 96 to 68. The budget was also cut. The government only contributed US$8000 to the hospital budget in 1984.

Tazziz said that the Hospice Committee had contacted many international institutions and asked for their solidarity. Toubi also strongly protested the closure measure. He revealed that the Knesset welfare committee had also appealed to the government to reverse the closure decision. "It is a step aimed at undermining Palestinian national institutions and infrastructure in the occupied territories," Toubi asserted. The MK repeated that "unity is the only practical way to defend our rights."

A protest strike outside the Hospice./AO photo.

Kiryat Arba

Continued from page 1

the other Jewish settlements on the West Bank, Kach's electoral victory may be taken as an indication of a broader shift of settler allegience from the Likud and the Tehiya Party to Kach.

Aside from firing Arab workers, the coalition agreement calls for forbidding Arab and Arab vehicles to enter Kiryat Arba "without reason," banning Arab vendors, outlawing Jewish-Arab ventures, instituting a travel ban on the Sabbath and segregating men and women at the soon-to-be-completed public swimming pool.

On Wednesday July 24 the Kiryat Arba council held its first session with the newly elected coalition after efforts to form a new coalition failed. The local Kach faction took the opportunity to distribute a leaflet wherein they stated that "having attained a position of power [they] would exploit the situation in order to realise their principles without making any compromises."

At present, the government legal adviser is reviewing the case in order to decide whether legal action can be taken against the council or not.

An Arab shepherd takes his flock of goats past Kiryat Arba settlement in Hebron./AFP photo

Calendar

July 26

Theatre Arts Co. presents *The Immigrants* at Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, Jerusalem. 8:00 pm.

July 27, 28

El-Hakawati presents the story of *The Eye and the Tooth* in Baqa Gharbyeh. When the sun sets at the Town's Youth Centre.

Moshe Zar Threatens to Sue Shaka'a

Settler leader Moshe Zar, who was charged with attempting to assassinate the elected mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a, is planning to make a court case against Shaka'a for press statements which he made concerning the sentences of the Jewish terrorist ring last week, *HaAretz* reported.

Shaka'a was quoted by *HaAretz* Hebrew daily that Moshe Zar, a convicted member of the terrorist underground ring, has built a palace on an Arab-owned land plot, which does not belong to him, and that he was doing his best at all times to force Arab landowners from their land using other land dealers. Shaka'a added that people like Zar are the real problem.

Zar claimed, in his reply to Shaka'a that he built his palace on "land which he bought in accordance with the law." He also added that he was planning to petition the court against Shaka'a for his statements.

Shaka'a, on the other hand, expressed surprise at Zar's reply and said that he knows that there have been many complaints made by villagers from Jainsafout village, which is located near the Karnei Shomron settlement, against Zar concerning land deals, especially in recent months.

Students, Administration Clash at Bethlehem Univ

Controversy between Bethlehem University's Student Council and the administration and board of trustees broke out last week over the presence of Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij at the commencement ceremony July 13.

The Student Council issued a statement July 16 denouncing Freij's attendance at the ceremony. The statement, which was published in *Al Mithaq* Arabic daily, also stated that the student council had withdrawn its recognition of Elias Freij as the head of the board of trustees, a ceremonial position which the Vatican gave to the elected mayor of Bethlehem in 1980 in order to win Arab recognition for the university. The student council withdrew recognition of Freij once before after he received former US president Jimmy Carter in 1982.

Ayman Husun, treasurer of the student council, further explained that the council regards Freij as being "non-nationalist." He pointed out that Freij has met Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and that he recognises UN Security Council resolution 242, which is still unanimously rejected by the Palestinian people. "He is not fit to head the board of trustees," Husun said.

In response, the university administration and board of trustees issued a joint statement July 21 reaffirming their confidence in Freij and denouncing the position of the student council and the Progressive Student Work Front. The statement said the students' position does not serve the interests of the student movement.

Later on July 22, representatives of four student blocs at the university — the Progressive Student Work Front, the Progressive Student Union, the Student Youth Movement, and the Student Unity Bloc — met on campus and issued a joint statement reaffirming their lack of confidence in Freij. They also denounced the administration's support of Freij. Husun told *Al Fajr* the students are aware they do not have the power to oust Freij from the board of trustees, but they want to make their position clear.

Elias Freij refused to comment on the subject, saying that the statement issued by the university's board of trustees is sufficient.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Shops in the Old City were all closed July 24 as part of a strike in East Jerusalem to protest the closure of Hospice Hospital./AO photo.

July 17, 1985

BOMB EXPLODES IN HAIFA

A small bomb exploded outside the office building of Zim, Israel's largest shipping firm, in the centre of Haifa. Police said no one was injured in the blast, the fourth in Haifa in recent weeks.

5 NAQAB HOUSES FLATTENED

'Green Patrol' demolished 5 Arab-owned houses in the Naqab. The residences, owned by the beduin Azazmeh clan, were levelled on the pretext that they had been built without permits.

AMERICAN TEAM VISITS AN-NAJAH

An American academic delegation visited an-Najah University in Nablus and met with university officials who briefed them on the problems facing education in the occupied territories.

GAZA WORKER MURDERED

The body of a Gaza worker was found in the woods in the Israeli town of Bat Yam. A preliminary police investigation established that Khalil Rajoub al-Mutawi, 48, was struck to death by a sharp instrument.

July 18, 1985

EXPLOSION INJURES 6 KIDS

Six Palestinian children were injured, two seriously, when an explosives charge they found and were playing with went off in the village of Arab Ta'amreh near Bethlehem. They were taken to the Beit Jala hospital. One child lost both hands in the blast.

ISRAELI CO. SACKS 23 ARAB WORKERS

An Israeli Chocolate factory in Upper Nazareth has dismissed 23 Arab workers because they declared a one-day strike to protest wage erosion. The workers are from the village of Ein Mahel in the Nazareth area.

TAX RAID

Officials from the Value Added Tax (VAT) department raided a number of groceries in Tulkarm refugee camp and imposed heavy fines on merchants.

BEIT FURIK MAN GETS 2.5 YEARS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Taisir Khaled Hananeh of Beit Furik village in the Nablus area to 2.5 years in jail on security charges.

SETTLERS DEMAND MORE SETTLEMENTS

A number of yeshiva (Jewish religous school) students shouting slogans calling for more settlements in the occupied territories marched through the city of Hebron. Some of the demonstrators called for expelling Arabs from the Israeli occupied territories.

BOMBS NEAR HEBREW U.

Two explosive charges and a hand grenade exploded harmlessly near the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Police rounded up a number of Arab youths in the vicinity for questioning.

July 19, 1985

ARMY BLOCKS BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY

Students and teachers at Bethlehem University were denied access to the campus by Israeli soldiers manning roadblocks erected at all entrances to the university. Dr Antoine Sansour, vice president of Bethlehem University, was summoned to a meeting with the head of the Civil Administration in the occupied territories, Colonel Avraham Saniyeh, to discuss the situation in the university.

HERZOG REPORTEDLY MEETS PALESTINIANS

Israeli president Chaim Herzog met recently with a number of West Bank figures and said he believed that some of those he had met "are capable of representing the Palestinian people in (future) peace talks." Israel Radio said among the Palestinians who attended the meeting were: Dr Antoine Sansour, head of the Council for Higher Education, Hikmat al-Masri, chairman of the Board of Trustees at an-Najah University, Zahran Hassouneh and Jenin's general prosecutor.

Commenting on the radio report, Sansour denied that he had any meeting with Herzog recently. He added, however, that such a meeting between Palestinian notables and the Israeli president did take place one-and-a-half years ago.

5 ISRAELI KIDS INJURED IN KNIFE-ATTACK

Five Israeli children were lightly injured when a youth, reportedly an Arab, attacked them with a knife in downtown West Jerusalem, Israel Radio reported. The 5 were among a group of 18 children ranging in age between 8-10 years, the radio said.

ORDER NISI BLOCKS TANTASH DEPORTATION

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* forbidding the Israeli Interior and Defence ministers to deport ex-security prisoner Khaled Tantash of Jerusalem pending the hearing into his appeal. Tantash was sentenced 16 years ago to 20 years imprisonment on security charges. He was released in the May 20 prisoner-exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC, and is now threatened with deportation because he lacks identification papers.

UN COMMITTEE CONDEMNS HOSPICE CLOSURE

The United Nation's Palestinian Rights Committee protested against the Israeli decision to close down the Hospice hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem. Committee President Oscar Orama said the authorities aim behind closing the Hospice is to cut government expenses.

5 QABATYA YOUTHS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced 5 youths from Qabatya village to 2 years each in prison for security offences. The five are: Ahmad Nazzal, Imad Nazzal, Hani Saba'neh, Faleh Yussef and Yussef Abu Ghurub.

Another Israeli military court in Tulkarm sentenced Mu'ayed Ragheb Sa'id of Attil village to 20 months prison and a similar suspended sentence on security charges.

July 20, 1985

ISRAELI BUS UNDER FIRE NEAR HEBRON

An Israeli bus came under automatic fire as it drove near Karmel settlement south of Hebron, an Israeli military spokesperson announced. There were no damages or injuries in the attack, he said.

July 21, 1985

AL FAJR REPORTER GETS TOWN-ARREST

Mousa Jaradat, a reporter and researcher for *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, was served with a town-arrest order for 6 months. This is the fourth consecutive time Jaradat, a resident of Sa'ir village in the Hebron area, is placed under town-arrest.

PETROL BOMB

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli patrol in Jabalya refugee camp. Troops sealed off the area and began a search.

The Sanour Mosque near Jenin which was recently converted to a mosque by Jewish settlers.

Mayor Bassam Shaka'a of Nablus talks to members of the PHRC fact-finding tour in his home.

HEBRON STUDENT UNDER TOWN ARREST

Israeli orders extended the town arrest restriction of Fathi Abd al-Aziz Thalji, a student at Hebron University, for another 6 months. This is the fourth time Tahlji gets a town-arrest.

SENTENCES FOR 'SECURITY CHARGES'

An Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Ali al-Mughrabi from Jerusalem to 20 months jail and 40 months suspended on security charges.

In Nablus, an Israeli military court sentenced Zakariya Abu Samra, Fares Mohammed Abd al-Mu'ti and Iyad al-Ghoul to 6 years in prison and 3 years suspended for security offences. The three are from Nur Shams refugee camp in the Tulkarm district.

July 22, 1985

STIFF SENTENCES FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Husam Hamzeh, 23, from Nablus, to 7 years jail and 3 years suspended on charges of plotting to attack the US embassy and the Shalom Tower in Tel Aviv. Maha Kassem, 25, also from Nablus, was sentenced to 6 years jail and 3 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and planting a bomb near an Israeli military base in Jenin.

2 JALAZON MEN SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced 2 youths from Jalazon refugee camp in the Ramallah area to one month in prison. The two, Mohammed Hafez Masoud and Khalil Mohammed Salameh, were also fined IS150,000 each on charges of partaking in a 1982 demonstration protesting the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut.

CUSTOMS RAID ON GAZA JEWELLERY SHOPS

Israeli customs officials raided jewellery stores in Gaza and imposed heavy fines on the merchants. The officials, guarded by police and borderpolice forces, also raided the homes of jewellers Issa al-Tarazi and Omar al-Sa'di. The former was fined JD50,000.

TEACHER SACKED

Mohammed Tim Abd al-Qader, a preparatory school teacher from Beit Sahour, was dismissed from his job by the Israeli officer in charge of education in the Civil Administration. No reasons were given for the dismissal, which goes into effect August 31. Abd Al-Qader has been working as a teacher for the last 8 months.

STUDENTS DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS

Student factions at Bethlehem University met to discuss the *status quo* in the occupied territories. The representative of the Youth Movement affirmed his movement's commitment to Palestinian national invariables regarding the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.

He also called for "deepening national unity, particularly in the camps, and confronting military order no. 854 which the Israelis are attempting to reintroduce by imposing town-arrests on students.

SENTENCES FOR MEMBERSHIP, WEAPONS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Hassan Abd al-Karim al-Tawil from Kfur Sur to 4 years in prison and 2 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, weapons training and recruiting. Azzam Abd al-Razek al-Sufi of Tulkarm refugee camp was sentenced by the court to 3 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and weapons training.

The same court also sentenced Husni Ali Jaber al-Damiri of Tulkarm to 4 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, weapons training and recruiting.

WB HAS MOST HEART ATTACKS

The rate of deaths resulting from heart attacks in the West Bank is the highest in the world, hospital sources announced. They said this high rate is attributed to "excitement, worry and concern," which have become part of the daily lives of Palestinians.

40 CITRUS TREES SABOTAGED

Unidentified saboteurs cut down 40 citrus trees in the village of Baka al-Sharqiyeh in the Tulkarm district and stole irrigation tools.

JALAZON FAMILIES DEMAND RATIONS

Dozens of poor families from Jalazon refugee camp staged a sit-in strike in front of the UNRWA office in Ramallah to demand resumption of food rations stopped six months ago. The director of the UNRWA office in Ramallah promised to study their demand.

July 23, 1985

GIRL REMANDED FOR 'PLO SHIRT'

The Magistrate Court in Acre remanded an Arab girl from the Galilee village of al-B'ana into police custody for 5 days on charges of writing the letters PLO on her shirt. The girl, whose name was not released, said she wrote the letters as an expression of solidarity with the PLO.

BIG BOMB DEFUSED IN WB

Israeli police sappers safely dismantled a large bomb found in a bus-stop on the Hebron road west of Jerusalem. Israel Radio said 8 Arab youths were detained.

13 DETAINED AFTER PETROL BOMB ATTACK

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli army vehicle as it drove on the road between Beer Sheba and Gaza. Israeli soldiers sealed off the area and detained 13 Arab youths.

Some of the Shi'ite prisoners who were held by Israeli troops in Atlit prison in Israel on their way home after being released.

WHEAT BURNED NEAR RAMALLAH

Unidentified arsonists set fire to a field of wheat belonging to Shafiq Kawwas in the village of Jifna in the Ramallah area. The blaze gutted the entire crop and 700 ripe trees in a nearby orchard, owned by the same man.

2 HEBRON MEN JAILED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Mohammed Maher Id Abu Rajab from Hebron to 10 months jail and 26 months suspended on security charges. The court also sentenced Ayoub Hafez Mustafa Gheith from Hebron to 20 months jail and 28 months suspended on security charges.

WOMAN HELD FOR UNKNOWN REASONS

An Israeli military court in Ramallah is looking into the case of Nawal Jamil Najjar, 32, from Burin village in the Nablus district, who has been in detention since June 15 for unspecified reasons. Najjar, who has 5 children, arrived in the occupied territories last month as a summer visitor from Kuwait.

AL-KHADER YOUTH SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Mohammed Ali Mustafa Ta'amreh from al-Khader village in the Bethlehem area to 3 months in prison and 21 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and weapons training.

BEIT ULA HARASSED BY SETTLERS

Jewish settlers have recently escalated their campaign of harassment and terror against residents of the village of Beit Ula northwest of Hebron. Israeli authorities are reportedly attempting to confiscate vast areas of the village land.

Gaza Advocate Fayez Abu Rahmeh shaking hands with former Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa in an attempt to belie reports on Israel Radio that they were in disagreement over the names on the Palestinian delegation.

Israeli Scene

The Masquerade of Law and Order

by Michael Lowry

I. Cops, Robbers, and Palestinian Workers

"The incident occurred on the night of May 16-17, when Lankri and Meh'olam [two petty criminals] broke into the Berman factory in Rishon Letzion and came upon one of the factory workers, Abu Said 'Abdullah, who was sleeping at the site. Lankri identified himself as a policeman. Abdullah started to run away, but Lankri caught hold of him and gave him a drumming which didn't let up until blood began spurting from Abdullah's nose and mouth. Continuing to impersonate policemen, the two criminals led the dazed worker to the Holon police station where they told the policeman at the night desk, Hezi Sharon, that they had apprehended a burglar who ought to be locked up. The policeman did not feel that there was enough evidence to warrant the worker's arrest and requested that the two return him to his home.

"Lankri and Meh'olam took Abdullah back to the factory, where, in a small shack that he shares with a few other [Palestinian workers], they ordered his 17-year-old brother to accompany them. They handcuffed both men and accused them of trying to break into the Berman factory with a ladder found in their possession.

"The four of them returned to the Holon police station, but this time, Sharon didn't prevent the two imposters from taking the workers to-two rooms on the top floor of the station in order to interrogate them. That's where Lankri ordered Abdullah to strip and lie down stomach-up on a cot standing in the room. He threatened Abdullah that he would set him on fire and kill him if he didn't admit to breaking into the Berman factory. He hit Abdullah on his hands and legs with a rubber truncheon and the beating didn't cease until one of the Holon police officers ordered the 'detainees' transferred to the Rishon Letzion station, where they were detained for a few days on suspicion of breaking and entering. Only after they were interrogated did the truth come out. The injured workers were released and the criminals, Lankri and Meh'olam were promptly arrested... [When the trial came to court,] Judge Uri Strozman lashed out at the police, who, he said, had allowed the criminals to exploit the norms of conduct during interrogations to the point that they felt right at home in the Holon police station. In the course of the trial, Hozi Sharon, the policeman who allowed the criminals to 'interrogate' the workers in the station, testified that it was customary to beat suspected burglars in the Holon police station. The Holon chief-of-police refused to comment on the affair" (Moshe Pearl, *Hadashot*, May 27, 1985).

II. Disturbing the Peace

Nahlaot [a neighbourhood in West Jerusalem] resident Arik Ben-Hor was arrested on Tuesday night for yelling 'Nazi' at Kahane, who was holding a demonstration in the neighbourhood. The police did not interfere with Kahane's supporters, who hit Ben-Hor and his friends. Judging by the events of the past week, the police can usually be counted on to take a pro-Kahane line" (*Kol Ha'ir*, July 12, 1985).

III. Fascist Legality

"The Six Day War generation, born into a reality of occupation, domination and a never ending battle against terrorism, are turning to the ideology of Kahanism. We are not speaking here about a small minority, like one or two percent of the population. Among the '67 generation, support for Kahane and what he represents is as high as 10-20 percent, and among certain sectors of this population, it is much higher."

The paragraph above is from an article on Kahane's growing popularity among Israeli high school students, published in *Yediot Aharonot* on June 28. The authors of the article, Eli Tabor, Nitza Aviram and Nehama Duak, visited a number of schools to talk to grade 12 students about their political beliefs.

What follows are some of the things they heard from the Kahanists among the students:

"Alex: 'I support Kach and Rabbi Kahane. The state is lucky to have someone like him, someone who can scare the Arabs a bit. I'm afraid to walk around in my own country. I'm scared of entering towns where Arabs live. They can throw stones and kill us. There has to be someone around who can scare them, who can stop them from rampaging...'

"Eyal: 'Kach's political platform appeals to me. The Arab minority here only disturbs us. They create trouble and carry out mass murder attacks against innocent people. They have no place here — with us. We should expel all of them, except perhaps for the Israeli Arabs who recognise the state of Israel and have accommodated themselves to it. But we must expel the Arabs in the territories and the Palestinians (sic). History has proven that the Arab nation is an implacable enemy. The only real way to deal with them is the way proposed by Rabbi Kahane. Simply expel them from here, or let them leave of their own free will.'

"Michal: 'We've had it up to here. We can no longer tolerate [the situation] of Arabs living in our midst. There's no solution other than expulsion... If they have no compunctions about killing and murdering innocent children, why should we? We were annihilated by the Nazis. The Jews underwent a holocaust in Europe. We were innocent, but millions were executed. So now let the Arabs have a holocaust. It's too bad the world's like that, but we have no other choice. That's all there is to it.'

"Itzik: 'Kahane ought to be given the power to be able to work in the Knesset, work against the Arabs that is. It should be done through the proper legal channels. Working in parliament, and with the help of a party like Kach, laws could be legislated against the Arabs which make them into second class citizens. I don't recognise them as equal citizens. But they should be dealt with through legal channels. For example, capital punishment must be instituted for terrorist crimes; this would halt terrorism. This country is mine and I want to be able to move around in it without fear...'

"Shmuel Bolbick: 'There's an Arab problem, that's clear. At one point the Arabs were a minority, but now they have aspirations of becoming the majority. I'm anxious about this situation. It may actually come to pass. And the reason why is because we have a democratic government. In my opinion, we should encourage Arab emigration' " (*Yediot Aharonot*, June 28, 1985).

IV. Kahanism in Practice

"Nasser and Annan Darawsheh were stopped by the police in Tel Aviv where Annan studies, and asked for their ID papers. After they presented their IDs, the driver yelled at them to strip. 'In the middle of the street?' asked Annan. The driver ordered them into the police car and Nasser began to get in, at which point the driver got out of the car and began to kick him.

"Nasser: 'I waited for it to end because I didn't want to give them a pretext for charging me with interfering with an officer in the course of his duties.'

"Annan: 'After he kicked Nasser into the car, he started beating me, especially on my ass. He was really going crazy. He had absolutely no control over himself. He called me a stinking Arab and yelled at me to get into the car and shut up.'

"According to the two brothers, things really got hot when they arrived at the Ramat Gan police station. One of the policemen yelled at Annan: 'Do you want to see your teeth on the floor?' Another one said he'd smash them in the face. After a while they were taken to a room and told to undress. 'For 10 minutes we were made to stand naked in the middle of the room,' one of the brothers said. 'The policemen told us to turn around — it was as though they were comparing whose was bigger. All of a sudden, I felt they were going to screw us — it's not important how.'

"After this humiliation, a police officer entered the room and told them to get dressed. Nasser burst out crying and said that he was going to lodge a complaint against the police, and that as he was a relative of MK Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh (Labour), it was sure to get into the papers. The officer took him into another room where he tried to convince him not to lodge a complaint. In the end, the two brothers were charged with interfering with a police officer in the course of his duty...

" 'We're still in shock,' said Nasser a few days later. 'I always thought the police were supposed to protect me from citizens who wanted to harass Arabs. Now I have the feeling that what's happening in the country at present is that Kahane gives the orders and the police carry them out.' " (*Hadashot*, July 8, 1985).

V. Taking the Law Into One's Own Hands

One of the most frequent arguments made in defence of the Gush Emunim terror underground is that these fine young men, all upstanding settlers with exemplary military records, were driven *to take the law into their own hands* on account of the government's failure to protect them on the West Bank. When Yehuda Etzion (one of the leaders of the underground) testified in court, he specifically addressed this point, arguing that rather than be accused of perpetrating criminal acts, the underground should be accused of acting without government authorisation.

However, when it comes to which laws the terrorists were implementing when they carried out car-bomb attacks on the West Bank mayors, conspired to blow up the Dome of the Rock, staged a shooting spree at the Islamic college in Hebron, and planted explosive devices on five East Jerusalem buses, their supporters tend to get a bit vague.

The truth is that their invocation of the "law" has little to do with the criminal code; it connotes a kind of preordained imperative by which Jews are more equal than others. Hence, the need to establish law and order in the occupied territories, one of the settlers' constant demands, is actually a call to intensify repression against the Palestinian population. This was quite plain this past winter, when Gush Emunim leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger staged a provocative vigil outside Dheisheh refugee camp — with Defence Minister Rabin's blessings — to protest the "laxity" of the security forces.

Following the May 20 prisoner-exchange, the settlers took the law into their own hands once again, this time in order to harass the freed Palestinian prisoners into leaving the country — in Kahane's jargon — "of their own free will."

VI. Contempt of Court

In the wake of the May 20 prisoner-exchange, the settlers and their right-wing and clerical allies also launched a public campaign to free the members of the Jewish terror underground who were on trial at the Jerusalem District Court. By the beginning of June, the *entire* right-clerical bloc had come out in favour of granting the underground members a presidential pardon. Indeed, as public pressure mounted to free the defendants, the Israeli judicial establishment came to feel that the courts were being undermined to the point that they threatened to resign *en masse* if the campaign did not cease immediately. The whole case, they argued, was *sub judice*.

The campaign did in fact subside, but there is ample evidence that the lull is only temporary. According to a report in *HaAretz* (July 12, 1985), as soon as the defendants are sentenced, the campaign will resume. ■